Race, class, gender and paid domestic work in London

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RACE, CLASS, GENDER AND PAID DOMESTIC WORK IN LONDON

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"When domestic servants are treated as human beings it is not worth while to keep them."

Bernard Shaw, Man and Superman

'The Singing Butler' Jack Vettriano

Abstract

Paid domestic labour involves tens of thousands of people in Britain today. Studies of domestic workers in other parts of the world have highlighted the importance of the sector to female employment. These studies have revealed that paid domestic work is influenced by the interaction of race, class and gender inequalities. This study examined the combined impact of these hierarchies on the domestic labour sector in London.

The aim of the study was to investigate how class, gender and ethnicity shape paid domestic work in London and to examine whether paid domestic employment in London challenges or reinforces these inequalities. Two stages of research were used to achieve this aim. First, an extensive survey of demand within the entire London area was carried out to identify the scale of the sector, its distribution and the type of work involved. The second stage comprised in-depth interviews with a small number of domestic employers and employees. At this stage the detailed workings of the domestic labour market and the employer/employee relationship were investigated. London was used as a study area because it was known to have the highest rates of domestic employment in England. It also has a wide range of different types of domestic employment and an ethnically diverse population.

The first stage of research revealed that domestic employment is unevenly distributed around London. It is concentrated in established, wealthy areas and not particularly in places with high rates of female employment. A wide range of domestic employment exists and these different jobs are done by people of different ages, genders and nationalities. The domestic labour market in London is segmented along these lines with little movement of people between types of job.

The recruitment processes used by employers, and the methods used by domestic workers to find jobs, reiterated the ghettoisation of particular groups. Employers sought employees of the same nationality as those they had had in the past and domestic workers used informal networks of family and friends to find work. Assumptions about gender roles facilitated women's entry into paid domestic work as it was assumed they knew how to carry out household tasks.

Social inequalities permeate the relationship between domestic worker and employer. The relationship has a contradictory nature. It has elements of affectivity that come from the close contact between employer and employee, but it also has elements of distance. This distance can take various shapes. Au pairs were denigrated in terms of their age and were infantilised by their employers' rules and behaviour. Cleaners' ethnicity was more often focused on by employers. Shortcomings, such as poor language skills, would be pointed out by employers to differentiate themselves from cleaners.

Paid domestic labour does not challenge existing social inequalities. Shifting the burden of reproductive labour to people outside the household does not challenge assumptions about responsibility for that work. Female domestic workers are carrying out the tasks that women have done for generations. The ghettoisation of particular ethnic groups within the sector prevents these people accessing wider labour markets and reinforces the idea that certain ethnicities 'belong' in certain types of work. Domestic workers are often isolated, working alone, or perhaps alongside their employers or one other employee. Their isolation and their intimate relationship with employers restrict their ability to challenge assumptions or improve pay and conditions.

Domestic workers in Britain have long been neglected in the academic literature but they are a group that deserve attention. Not only is the sector increasing but also, close examination of the sector can reveal the workings of social structures within everyday life.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

Paid domestic labour has been in the headlines recently after decades of obscurity. The case of Louise Woodward, a British au pair accused of murdering her American charge, has reminded people that paid domestic labour did not disappear at the end of the last century. In fact the sector is growing in Britain and remains an important source of employment to women throughout the world. This study examines paid domestic labour in contemporary London. It looks at both the domestic labour market and the relationship between employers and employees and examines how both are influenced by race, class and gender.

The paid domestic workforce includes a wide variety of different people involved in different jobs (England and Stiell 1997, Gregson and Lowe 1994) Paid domestic labour is an umbrella term incorporating work that is done for pay, within the employers home and that concerns the social and physical reproduction of household members. This work, normally housework, childcare or care for elderly and sick people, takes a variety of forms. The types of job created and the groups doing this work vary across time and space. The form that domestic labour takes can vary by the tasks done, being live-in or live-out, part-time or full-time, skilled or unskilled. Domestic workers include highly-paid butlers, part-time cleaners or baby-sitters and qualified nannies amongst others. The term 'servant' is still used to describe full-time, live-in domestic workers, in particular those who are unskilled and poorly paid. However, although it is widely used by historians, it is less popular with those

studying the current situation both because it is seen to be pejorative and because it is inadequate to describe the wide variety of forms paid domestic labour takes. Servitude implies a dependence on one employer and an absence of professional status that is inaccurate in portraying modern forms of paid domestic labour and modern domestic employment relationships.

The organisation of paid domestic labour and the nature of the workforce are a product of the specific social context within which that work takes place. Existing studies of paid domestic labour not only make clear the extent of its variety but also demonstrate that in any particular place and at any time certain forms of work are prevalent and certain class, gender, age and ethnic groups dominate the workforce.

Domestic service is the largest employer of women in many countries. It is the modal occupation for women in Latin America. For example, 20.6% of all working women in Argentina in 1980 were domestic workers, that is, more than 500,000 people (Gogna 1989 p. 84). In Colombia the figure is equally high and in 1980 17.4% of the total population of Bogotá were live-in domestics (Garcia Castro 1989 p. 106). The same year in Brazil 19.9% of the female work force were domestics; that is a total of two million people (de Melo 1989).

Asian women work in domestic employment within the continent and as migrants in many other countries of the world. It was estimated that in 1988 81,000 Filipinas were working abroad as domestics and 140,000 Sri Lankan women were working as maids in the Middle East (Enloe 1989 pp. 30-31). There are at least 16,000 Filipina domestic servants in France and another 15,000 in Germany (Anderson 1993). The remittances sent by these women are an important source of income to their families and a significant source of hard currency within the national economies (Enloe 1989).

What is known of the British situation is less clear. Census measurements underestimate the size of the domestic workforce and there is no union or other organisation to represent domestic workers. However, although the sector is smaller than in many other countries and smaller than it was in the first half of this century, it is still not inconsiderable. The family expenditure survey found that spending on help in the home amounted to £3.89 billion in 1995-6, nearly twice what it had been a decade earlier (Garner 1996).

This chapter reviews existing studies of paid domestic labour to highlight important themes that have been identified by other authors and that have informed this work. It then sets out the aims of this study, introduces the study area and describes the structure of the remainder of the thesis.

Paid Domestic Work and Paid Domestic Workers

Studies of paid domestic work from other parts of the world and other periods in history have highlighted the importance of examining paid domestic labour in its social context. Different themes have arisen as important from studies of different parts of the globe (Raghuram 1993; Gregson and Lowe 1994), and are a product of the variety of influences that can shape the sector. Historical studies have either focused on the 'servant problem' or charted the growth and decline of the sector. Contemporary studies of domestic employment in North America have repeatedly examined occupational ghettoisation whilst international migration has been discussed most frequently by Asian writers. Ethnic differences between domestic workers and their employers have emerged as important in Latin America, whilst the literature from Europe is thin and largely historical in nature.

This section will briefly review the existing literature on paid domestic labour to explore its main findings and themes and explain how this study relates to previous work. The section begins with a review of historical studies of paid domestic labour; this is followed by a survey of the major themes which have dominated studies in different parts of the world.

Historical Studies

The extent, location and nature of paid domestic work have varied over time. Historical studies which discuss the lives of servants allow an appreciation of how their work and status have changed and provide an insight into the conditions which have encouraged the employment of servants.

The lives of domestic workers have been largely overlooked by historians with the first 'below stairs' histories not appearing until the 1970s. Traditional historians have treated domestic workers as invisible in much the same way as their employers did and labour historians have overlooked them because of their lack of organisation and class identity (McBride 1976). Despite the short period of interest a few histories do now exist which give a view of servant life in times past (see Davidoff 1973; Burnett 1974; McBride 1976; Waterson 1980; Graham 1991). These studies have considered service in the last two hundred years, a time of great change in patterns of domestic work.

Information on paid domestic labour in feudal and early capitalist times is hard to come by although there is evidence that domestic servanthood was widespread throughout Europe. One of the reasons for this is that jobs were not as firmly delineated as they later became. A servant could be employed to work in the house,

or gardens, or in the dairy, or on the farm and generally was involved in a combination of these activities (Davidson 1982). It was not only large houses which this applied to. Farm servants, who worked on many small farms, would also have been involved in domestic labour.

It is clear that, in Britain at least, the 'servant problem' was perennial rather than being the curse of any particular generation of employers. Anderson (1982 p. 170) quotes the household books of Lady Grisell Baillie, wife of the Receiver-General of Scotland. She mentions the names of over 60 servants who were employed between 1694 and 1704. As many as 31 left within a year and 17 within two years. Daniel Defoe was so enraged by the 'servant problem' (and here servant takes on its wider meaning including those involved in farm work) that he wrote a treatise in 1704 titled *The Great Law of Subordination considered or, The Insolence and Insufferable Behavior of SERVANTS in England duly enquired into.* In this he says, "The miserable circumstance of this Country is such, that, in short, if it goes on, the poor will be Rulers over the Rich, and the Servants be Governours [sic] of their Masters" (quoted in Thompson 1993 p. 16).

Industrialisation had as great an impact on the domestic worker as it did on other parts of society. The size of the average household declined considerably during this period and the occupation became feminised. The rise of an urban bourgeoisie restructured employment conditions for servants. The very large households which had been the largest employers of servants were replaced by smaller units employing fewer servants with more general tasks (Burnett 1974; Higman 1989; Kuznesof 1989). Generally the largest households had employed many men as well as women, but historical studies show the occupation became feminised as a single maid or maybe two were taken on to do all household duties (see McBride 1976; Kuznesof 1989; Arru 1990). These trends appear to be similar in many parts of the world, with writers charting the same tendency at slightly different times. Arru dates the transformation of domestic service into an almost exclusively female form of employment in Rome to the eighteenth century. McBride describes the same process in England and France a century later and Kuznesof describes a similar trend in Spanish America after 1825. In Britain, however, the trend was helped along, if not caused by, a tax imposed on male domestic servants in 1777, to raise money for the American War of Independence and to encourage men to enter the navy. The tax not removed until 1937. The tax was so strictly imposed as to remove men from all but the most prestigious jobs in the largest households. It also had the effect of dividing domestic and non-domestic work as employers could not afford to let their male farm labourers or apprentices take on work in the house on a casual basis as they had done

before. The only notable exception to this trend of feminisation is recorded by Tranberg-Hansen (1986) who shows that, under the influence of British colonial rule, paid domestic work continued to be a male occupation in Africa until this century.

The decline of the very large household did not actually reduce the demand for servants as many more families were able to afford a small domestic staff. In all places studies show that this demand was supplied by a flow of young women from rural areas (George 1966; Higman 1989; Kuznesof 1989). In Europe these women were entering service temporarily to establish themselves in the new urban centres. McBride (1976) describes service as being like a holding area where young women waited until the towns could supply them with alternative opportunities. Burnett (1974) shows that the expansion of domestic service in Britain occurred just before the growth of other sectors which attracted women. When women were able to take up employment as clerks and factory workers, a servant shortage arose and the average age of servants increased. Likewise, where other work existed for women, for example in textile areas, service was less important as an employer.

These changes in the make up of the servant population also had an impact on the status of the occupation. During the period of its most rapid expansion, service changed from being one of the more respected and well paid working class occupations into perhaps the lowest status job. Higman (1989) describes the high status of domestic work in the Caribbean and its restriction to white and mixed race women during the last century. Kuznesof (1989) describes a similar situation in Spanish America where domestic service was the only occupation open to Indians and mestizos which white women would also do, indicating its status as superior to many other forms of employment. In Europe service was a favoured occupation for daughters and many maids left service by marrying a lower-middle class or skilled working man (Gillis 1979). By the beginning of this century the status of domestic work had changed. No longer was it a profession of choice but rather one of last resort, entered into by those who were restricted from entering other parts of the labour market. In Latin America service became the job of young migrants, unable to enter other jobs because of their lack of contacts. In Andean countries service is now overwhelmingly an Indian occupation (Young 1987; Radcliffe 1990). In the United States service became an occupational ghetto for migrant women, such as Japanese women and Chicanas, who were discriminated against by employers and lacked education and experience (Glenn 1981; Romero 1988b).

In Britain the decline in the status of domestic service was contemporaneous with its feminisation. The relationship between the feminisation of domestic work and its low status is complicated and unclear. The most prestigious domestic positions were

always held by men and their absence from the profession had the effect of lowering its status overall. Before the tax was imposed on the employment of male domestic servants, large numbers of men were employed in the sector (although never as many as women), particularly in the largest households of the aristocracy. For example, in 1721, the Duke of Chandos' household consisted of 135 people and of these only 12 were female domestic servants (Davidson 1982 p. 179). After the imposition of the tax, those who could afford it still employed men to carry out all work that could be seen by guests while employing women to do the cooking and housework which could not be seen. In Britain by 1851, 89.9% of indoor domestic servants were female, by 1911 this had risen to 91.7%. This transformation of domestic service from a mixed to an overwhelmingly female occupation made true for the first time the ideology that housework was women's work (Davidson 1982). The ideology that domestic labour is 'naturally' a female task has been important in restricting the conditions of paid domestic workers, lowering their pay and denying them the status of workers rather than household members. The jobs which exist for men in domestic service in Britain today have retained their prestige whilst those done by women are lower paid and lower status.

Domestic Workers Around the World

Who domestic workers are, what they do, how they are paid and regarded all vary between places. The extent to which their work has been studied also varies geographically as do the questions asked by researchers. A sizeable and vibrant literature on domestic service in Latin America exists but other areas are not so well represented. Filipina maids have been variously studied as workers in many different countries but other parts of Asia have been greatly ignored. Likewise, Caribbean women in Canada have provoked interest from a number of writers but other servants in North America have had less attention. European studies are overwhelmingly historical in nature with studies of the contemporary situation lacking for many countries. Similarly, the concerns of domestic workers in South Africa have been explored by academics while those in other African countries have been largely overlooked.

North America

An examination of the literature on service in North America shows the major theme to be the segregation of the sector from other forms of paid work and the concentration of women from particular ethnic groups within the paid domestic labour force. The literature on the USA is small and there is little investigation of the numbers of workers employed in this sector. Of the studies which do exist, a minority enter directly into debate with feminist ideas. Romero (1988b) uses the nature of the mistress-maid relationship throughout history to discuss the ways in

which racial, gender and class hierarchies are produced within the home and to comment on the threat these hierarchies pose to the feminist movement at present. In a similar vein, Brand (1987) uses the example of domestic service to show the unequal position of different women and the danger to the feminist movement of ignoring oppression rooted in race/ethnicity and class as well as gender.

Studies of domestic workers in North America have taken on the issues of race and ethnicity as central to shaping the work experience. Canadian writers have focused on the experience of black women from the Caribbean both as migrants (Mackenzie 1988; Arat-Koc 1989) and as black women living and working in white homes (see Rollins 1990; Cohen 1991). England and Stiell (1997) have examined the hierarchy of different nationalities that has arisen within the Canadian paid domestic labour sector. They argue that women from different ethnic groups are portrayed as having different abilities and characteristics and are steered towards different parts of the sector. Literature from the United States has examined the lives of domestic workers from many different ethnic groups such as Lintleman (1991) on Swedish servants in the USA, Romero (1988a) on Chicanas and Glenn (1980; 1981) on Japanese women. These studies are different from those studies of migrants as many of these women are second generation Americans rather than new arrivals. Their experience as domestic workers sheds light on the way in which this occupation is segregated from the greater labour market along ethnic lines and the processes by which particular groups of women become ghettoised within paid domestic labour. Both these questions are important in examining the British situation.

Africa

The few studies of domestic workers in Africa include some of the most interesting works on the subject. Tranberg-Hansen's (1986) study of domestic workers in Zambia reveals that men dominated the profession during colonial times and that the workforce is now changing. The paper is important in showing that household work does not have to be restricted to women, that it is not "naturally" their domain. It also provides a clear example of how gender roles are produced by different societies' expectations and can, therefore, change. Hay (1988) draws attention to the difficulty of distinguishing between domestic "slaves" and "wives" in an African context, a point which is also highlighted in Emecheta's (1976) fictional account of the life of a Nigerian domestic slave.

It is only in South Africa that studies of domestic workers have appeared in any numbers. Walker (1987) points to studies of the lives of domestic servants as an example of the growth of women's studies within South Africa and an increased attention to black, working class women. Within this growth of interest Lemmer

(1989) has looked at the wider question of opportunities for and expectations of women in South Africa and, within this, has questioned the effect of black domestic workers on white women's roles and also on the relations between black and white women. Cock (1987) has looked at the constraints on black women and the oppression they suffer at the hands of white employers. She draws attention to the challenge the South African situation makes to feminist ideas of "sisterhood". Preston-Whyte (1976) tested the expressed racial attitudes of whites and their behaviour towards Africans who work in their homes. She found that questions of race permeate the entire employer-employee relationship, an aspect of domestic work relations which recurs repeatedly.

Asia

Studies of domestic service in Asia focus overwhelmingly on the experience of Filipina maids as migrants. Whether they are working in Europe (Korsieporn 1992; Anderson 1993), in other parts of Asia (Tan and Devasahayam 1987; French and Lam 1988) or in urban areas of the Philippines (Ibarra 1979), their working conditions and life chances have been examined. Although these studies are all on the subject of domestic workers as migrants writers have used a variety of strategies. French has used a positivist method, statistical regressions, to assess job satisfaction, whereas Enloe (1989), writing from an activist feminist position, has looked at the structural causes behind the migration of Filipinas and has argued for alliances between domestic workers world-wide to protect their working conditions.

This group of studies are singular in their focus. Questions of race/ethnicity, gender and class are not remarked on but are implicit within analysis of domestic workers as migrants. The migrant domestic workers of Southeast Asia have become so numerous and so important to the survival of their families that their work is analysed in the context of wider development issues. Heyzer (1989) and Anderson (1993) have looked at the forces on Asian women which drive them to migrate as well as their experiences as domestic workers. Their lives as migrants are seen in the context of economic change in their home country. The only exception to this characterisation of Asian studies is Raghurum's (1993) study of domestic workers in the New Delhi area. This study examines the coping strategies of domestic workers and, from a feminist perspective, looks at the lives of domestic workers and not just their work experiences.

Latin America and the Caribbean

The literature about domestic servants in Latin America is explicit in its analysis of domestic labour as a sector that is shaped by ethnic, gender and class hierarchies. There is a large body of work which appreciates the importance of domestic work as

a female occupation, which appears to be situated within contemporary debates on both gender and ethnic oppression and which covers most parts of the region. Broadly, the work from Latin America can be divided into studies which are interested in domestic workers as migrants and resulting ethnic hierarchies, studies which directly address the challenge to feminist unity which widespread service creates and studies of domestics as organised workers or writings by domestic workers from grass roots organisations.

For many domestic workers the experience of service cannot be separated from the experience of migration and the low status which the occupation confers is inseparable from the status of the ethnic minority which they find themselves part of when they move. The incidence of migrant women working as domestic servants has been recorded throughout Latin America and the Caribbean (see Gonzales 1976; de Melo 1989; Duarte 1989; Cohen 1991). These migrations can be over short or long distances, within national boundaries or overseas but they have in common a rural to urban shift for the worker and often the movement into a different dominant culture (Jelin 1977).

One of the most interesting examples of this is shown by Radcliffe (1990) and Young (1987) who have examined the experiences of women from peasant families in Peru who move to urban areas and work as domestics. Their time as live-in servants often changes them from identifying with their Indian families into "Peruvians" who have adopted the fashions, language and ideals of the urban society. Young details the ways in which the members of the employing family denigrate the servant's native culture and reproduce the gender, class and race hierarchies which exist in the society as a whole. Both writers conclude that gender, class and ethnic inequalities interact to shape paid domestic labour, both the sector as a whole and individual women's experiences of it. Garcia Castro (1989) has shown similar processes to be at work in Colombia. She describes the entire identity of the servant as sold when she takes on domestic work. These studies argue that live-in domestic labour provides a situation in which the ideology of the employers is efficiently transmitted to the worker as she is absorbed into the family's life and surrounded by their norms and opinions almost all the time. As well as the sheer volume of time she spends with her employers, the live-in domestic is particularly vulnerable to the pressures of her employer's opinion because of the affective nature of their relationship and the form it takes as 'false-kin'.

The treatment of domestic workers within their employers' families and the relationship between employer and employee as women of different ethnic and social groups is an important aspect of the study of domestic service which has received attention from Latin American writers. Some have then gone on to discuss the

relevance of women as employers to notions of solidarity within the women's movement and to other feminist discussions on the nature of women's oppression. Schneider (1988) and Gogna (1989) have both characterised the employment of domestic workers as an exploitation of women by women. De Melo (1989) has addressed this issue by interviewing women who describe themselves as feminists but who employ servants to see how they resolve the situation for themselves.

Organisations of domestic workers in Latin America, such as trade unions, have not united with the women's movement to any great extent because of a feeling that the very women who are involved in feminist work are their employers and exploiters. However, organisations do exist and some of these have been looked at by writers interested in the nature of domestic workers' oppression and some feminists have continued to try to build bridges between middle class and working class women. Duarte (1989) has called on the feminist movement to re-examine the double-day thesis after showing its irrelevance to the experience of domestic workers in the Dominican Republic. Prates (1989) has looked at the way in which private voluntary organisations which target domestic workers actually reinforce their marginality. Others, such as Goldsmith (1989), have written histories of domestic workers' organisations and Chaney and Garcia Castro (1989) united the work of academics with the publications of domestic workers' unions.

The work on domestic service from Latin America is rich and varied and has been described but briefly here. These studies from Latin America are extremely important to the study of domestic work world-wide. They give us a thorough account of the lives of domestic workers in societies where service is the largest female occupation. The analysis of ethnic differences in employing households in Andean countries raises questions for many different situations as does work by Latin American writers on the intersection of race, class and gender inequalities within the employment relationship.

Europe

Despite a well developed literature on women's employment and on issues surrounding women's oppression due to their responsibilities for domestic work and child care there is a scarcity of studies of paid domestic work in Europe. Those which do exist tend to focus either on the past (see Davidoff 1973; Davidoff 1974; McBride 1974; McBride 1976; Davidoff 1979; Fairchilds 1979; Gillis 1979; Arru 1990; DaMolin 1990), or deal with domestic servants as migrants (see Arena 1983; Morokvasic 1991; Korsieporn 1992) rather than examining their work per se. There is also little debate on the extent of paid domestic work and its importance or unimportance as an occupational sector today. Perhaps most surprising is the

complete absence of literature about au pairs who must be amongst the most numerous domestic workers in Europe.

Paid Domestic Labour in England

Studies of domestic workers in contemporary England are few and far between. However, two stand out as particularly important. The first, Gregson and Lowe's (1994) *Servicing the Middle Classes*, examines the growth of nanny and cleaner employment by the 'Service Class' during the 1980s. The second, Anderson's *Britain's Secret Slaves* (1993), reveals the plight of thousands of immigrant women who are kept in a state of slavery as household workers in mainly in London.

Gregson and Lowe, two geographers, looked at the domestic employment situation in two cities in England, Reading and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. They interviewed nannies and cleaners who worked for dual income, 'service class' couples and their employers. The study first tried to establish if a north - south divide existed in demand for domestic labour and found little evidence for this. Subsequently they examined the reasons people had for going into cleaning and nannying and the reasons employers had for taking on paid domestic help. They also looked at the employee/ employer relationship to see how this was mediated by gender ideologies.

Their study found the proliferation of nanny employment to be the product not only of an increase in the number of women in career structured jobs, but also a result of the decline of collective child care provided by the state. Mothers were unable to find alternative, cheaper child-care arrangements and qualified child carers were unable to find jobs outside nannying. These decisions were also mediated by traditional female gender roles. Mothers articulated a feeling that personal, 'mother-like' care was what they considered best for their children even though they, personally, did not want to take this role. Nannies were often young women who liked children and, while at school, had been steered towards child care as a career suitable for girls who are not overly academic.

In contrast, the study showed cleaners to be women who were taking on domestic work in order to supplement state benefits, either their own or their partner's. Cleaning was favoured as it was easy to enter, flexible, informal and fitted in with other domestic responsibilities such as caring for children or older relatives. Employers took on cleaners because they did not feel they had the time to do their cleaning themselves. Generally the study found this situation arose due to housework being the sole, or overwhelming burden of the female partner. Households which shared housework were less likely to feel the need of paid help. The employment of cleaners, therefore, can be seen to be the product of women's responsibility for

reproductive work as both the decision to become a cleaner and the decision to employ a cleaner were produced by the need to negotiate paid work and housework.

Gregson and Lowe's study is very important as the first in-depth academic study of paid domestic work in contemporary England. However, there is still a great deal which is not known about paid domestic employment in this country. By focusing on a group of employers with similar backgrounds (i.e. all dual earners in 'service class' jobs) Gregson and Lowe were unable to examine how the employers class affects the employee/employer relationship. Their study showed the 'service class' to be an important source of demand for domestic labour, particularly nannies. However, ruling class and traditional middle-class families also employ domestic labour but their reasons for doing so would presumably be different, or at least expressed in different terms. By restricting their study to only two categories of domestic labour they obviously could not illuminate the lives of many other domestic workers doing different types of domestic work such as housekeepers, cooks, butlers or au pairs. Gregson and Lowe's study looked only at how gender roles and gender ideologies impacted the domestic labour relation; they did not look at race as an aspect of paid domestic work. As studies from many other places have shown (Glenn 1980; 1981; Cock 1987; Young 1987; Romero 1988a; Colen 1989; Radcliffe 1990; Gill 1994), race, and racism, permeated the experiences of a large number of domestic workers.

Anderson's (1993) study was written in co-ordination with a group of Filipina migrant workers. Quite unlike Gregson and Lowe, Anderson writes about the conditions in which some of the richest people in the world keep their domestic workers. She explains how foreign domestic workers come to England and how, due to a loop-hole in British law, they are made virtually the property of their employers.

Countries such as the Philippines, Sri-Lanka, India and Bangladesh have chosen to pursue policies of encouraging the migration of their workers as a way of both lowering unemployment and increasing foreign exchange . Hundreds of thousands of workers leave these countries each year to work all over the world doing jobs which the labour-importing country cannot get their nationals to do. Many of these migrants are women who take on posts as domestic workers. The largest importing countries of domestic workers are the Gulf states and Hong Kong but European countries also import Asian labour both legally and illegally.

Foreign domestic workers have fewer rights than other immigrant workers in almost all countries. They enter on contracts which do not protect their conditions and which restrict their ability to change jobs, thus making them particularly dependent on their employers. This is the case in England where foreign domestic workers who

enter the country with their employing family are regarded as members of the household and not as individuals. Their working conditions are not protected under law and if they leave their employers, for whatever reason, they can be deported. Foreign domestic workers are allowed into the country under a 'concession' in the Immigration Rules which is designed to enable rich foreign visitors to bring their servants with them.

The result of this situation is that there are hundreds, if not thousands, of women who are kept in conditions of slavery in Britain, most of them in London. Because they are unable to escape without being deported, domestic workers are absolutely at the mercy of their employers. Many endure physical and sexual abuse, poor food or periods of starvation, pay being withheld, passports being confiscated, working days of over 16 hours and no means of leaving the house. Anderson's work is illustrated by the stories of women who have escaped these situations and are now active in trying to help other women to do the same. Kalyaan, the self-help group for foreign domestic workers, estimates that there are 2-3,000 women in London who are kept in a state of slavery due to the concession.

Anderson shows the plight of these women to be a product of inequalities at every level. First, they are forced to migrate by the debt burden of their home countries and the way in which IMF restructuring hits the poorest, leaving them little choice but to look for work abroad. Then they become victims of a labour market which pushes women, however well qualified or experienced, into taking work as domestics. Employment agencies treat domestic work as different from all other forms of work. Contracts do not ensure a minimum working day or any time off. This treatment is then mirrored by British immigration policy which does not treat domestic workers as workers but as household members and will not give them the same rights as other workers.

Anderson's book is shocking in the evidence it has of the horrific mistreatment of foreign domestic workers and the complacency of the British government who refuse to change the concession and so release domestic workers from their bondage. Anderson makes it clear that these women are not only victims of a few brutal individuals but also of a system which works against them from beginning to end. Because the book is focused only on the experiences of maltreated foreign domestic workers it does not look at the lives of domestic workers in general, but it does show one extreme of this experience. It is a useful counter-point to Gregson and Lowe who do not look at women who are servants or domestic workers who are immigrants, with all the extra difficulties that this position brings.

There are obviously large gaps in knowledge about paid domestic labour in England. Very little is known about foreign domestic workers who are here with work permits, or about English domestics who are not nannies or cleaners. Nothing is known about the men who work in the sector as butlers, chauffeurs and valets nor about employers except the super-rich and the service class. There are many questions which have not been asked of the English situation but which studies from the rest of the world suggest may be important in examining the lives of domestic workers and their relations with their employers. Studies from North America have highlighted the importance of ghettoisation within the labour market, funnelling women of particular ethnicities into paid domestic work. Writing from other parts of the world has demonstrated the importance of migrant workers within the domestic labour force and drawn attention to the influence that ethnic differences can have on the employer/employee relationship. Latin American studies, particularly those from Andean countries, have highlighted the way in which race, class and gender interact to shape domestic labour and it is this interaction that forms the focus of this study.

Race, Class, Gender and Paid Domestic Labour in Britain

Paid domestic labour is a subject that touches on many assumptions about how society and the family are structured. The sector is built on the existence of class inequalities and the ability of some to pay for the labour of others to carry out household tasks. However, paid domestic labour also happens within homes, the private sphere, and raises questions about who is responsible for reproductive labour and why. This thesis examines how social structures, specifically the hierarchies of class, gender and ethnicity, shape the paid domestic labour sector and whether the existence of this sector reinforces or challenges these forms of inequality.

Paid domestic labour bridges the spheres of home and work, public and private, productive and reproductive. It is shaped by the forces that mould both these spheres. The home is the site of the material basis of women's oppression. Their responsibility for unpaid reproductive labour is the source of their subordination (Oakley 1974a; Engels 1978). Demand for domestic workers, and the status of paid domestic work, can only be understood in the context of the gendered nature of reproductive work. Paid domestic labour is also a job, a form of paid work, and is affected by all the inequalities and prejudices that affect the labour market. Paid domestic work is generally low status, poorly paid and informal and it is sought by those who are excluded from other sectors, women with domestic responsibilities, migrants and people of colour. Paid domestic labour is, therefore, a product of the intersection of different types of inequality both within the home and within larger society.

As stated earlier paid domestic labour is an umbrella term that includes a wide variety of jobs with very different levels of pay and conditions. The sector includes full-time, highly paid workers, such as butlers or executive housekeepers, as well as those working part-time and informally such as cleaners or baby-sitters. For the purposes of this study domestic workers were identified by their employers and, therefore, the term does not have a precise meaning. However, a common sense meaning was widely shared amongst all those interviewed. The group 'domestic workers' was seen to include all those employed full-time in housework or childcare and those employed to do housework part-time. Gardeners, window-cleaners and baby-sitters were not included in this definition.

Aims of the Study

The study aims to investigate how class, gender and ethnicity shape the paid domestic labour sector in London and to examine whether paid domestic employment in London challenges or reinforces these inequalities.

In order to achieve this three objectives are identified:

1, To describe the paid domestic labour sector within London in terms of its distribution and major characteristics.

2, To examine the operation of the domestic labour market, how it is perceived by employers and employees, and the extent to which it is segregated from other labour markets.

3, To analyse the nature of the relationship between domestic workers and their employers.

Study Area

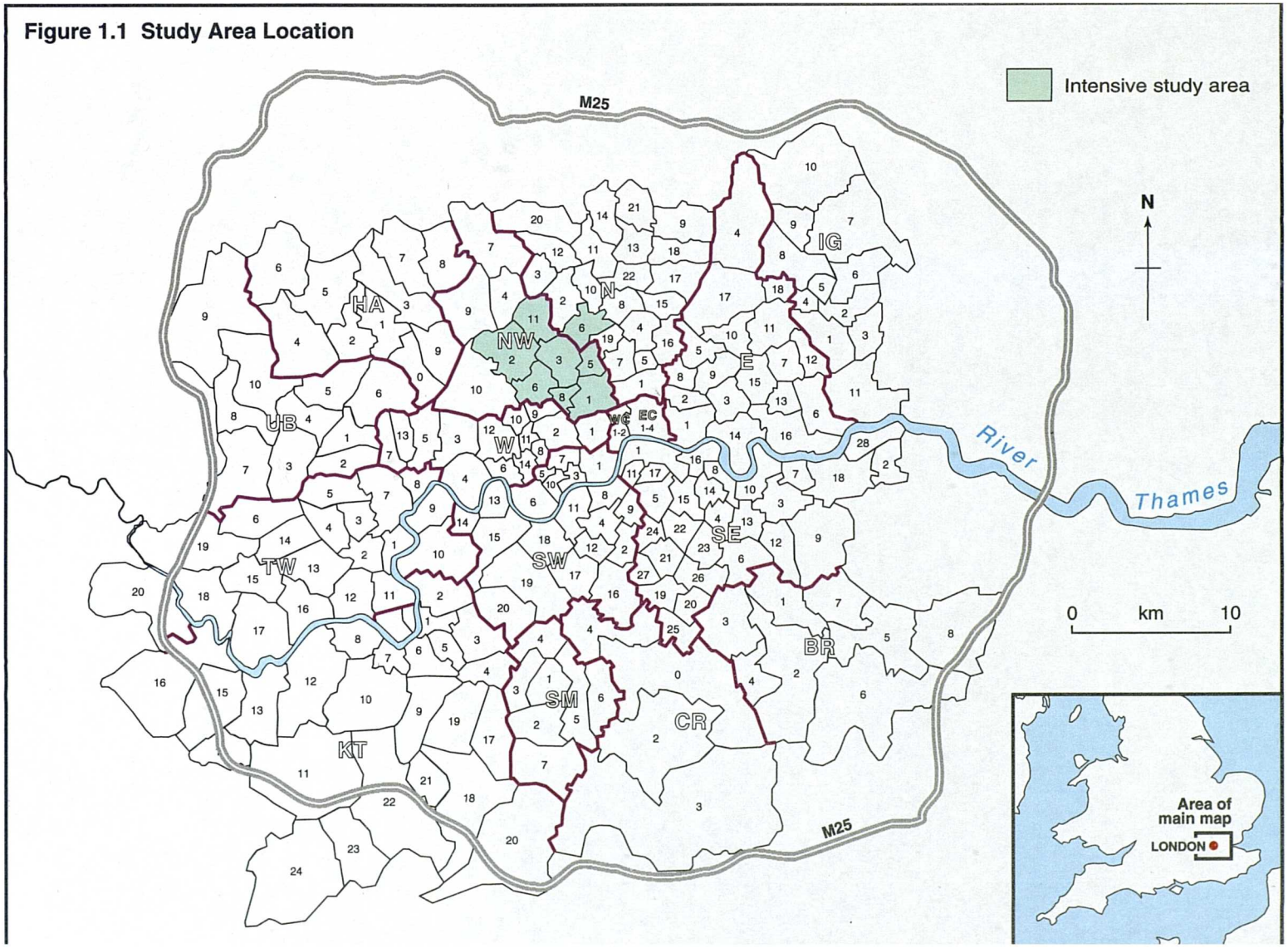
London was selected as the study area as it is structurally significant within the British economy. London has been described by Sassen (1991) as a "global city," a city of importance within the global financial system and a focus of international migration. It is argued that low paid, personal service jobs are particularly prevalent in global cities because of income inequalities. London also has a large proportion of people in well-paid, professional and managerial jobs (Fielding 1992) and women work in these sectors at higher rates than in other parts of the country (Bruegel 1996). Income inequalities, high rates of in-migration, a large professional middle-class and high rates of female participation in career-structured jobs are all factors that have been identified by other writers to be significant in creating and shaping paid domestic labour.

Gregson and Lowe (1994) demonstrated that London has high rates of paid domestic labour and has a wide variety of different types of domestic workers. Within London the smaller study area of Hampstead was identified after the first stage of research. Analysis of classified advertisements in *The Lady* magazine and interviews with domestic employment agencies revealed that NW3 was the postcode with the highest level of demand for paid domestic workers and a study area focused on the postcode was selected. NW3 and all postcodes bordering it were included in the intensive stage of research. Figure 1.1 shows this area.

Structure of Thesis

The thesis begins by examining the context within which paid domestic labour takes place. The sector cuts across the spheres of reproductive (normally unpaid) work and productive (paid) work. Both these areas and their inter-relationship are examined to provide an understanding of how paid domestic work is located within society. Next, in Chapter 3, the methodology used is described and the study area discussed in greater detail. Chapter 4 presents results from the first stage of research, an extensive survey of demand for paid domestic workers in London. Following directly from this, Chapters 5 and 6 discuss the results of the intensive stage of fieldwork; Chapter 5 examines the nature of the paid domestic labour market, while Chapter 6 looks in detail at the relationship between paid domestic workers and their employers. Finally, Chapter 7 reflects on the extent to which the aim of the study has been fulfilled. This chapter also discusses the problems encountered in carrying out the research and suggests possible areas for future study.

Figure 1.1 Study Area Location



Chapter 2

The Context of Paid Domestic Labour

This chapter examines the origins of class, gender and ethnic inequalities. These inequalities are the context within which paid domestic labour takes place. However, they do not operate separately but combine to create specific experiences of oppression. Each hierarchy is discussed separately, for the sake of clarity. However, they are all related; both in their origins in class society and when they are lived by individuals.

Paid domestic labour needs to be understood both as a form of reproductive labour and a type of paid work, categories that are normally mutually exclusive. Reproductive labour is those tasks that are performed in order to ensure the physical survival and socialisation of people and their dependants. This work, generally thought of as housework and childcare, is usually performed by family members within their own homes and is unpaid. Reproductive labour tends to be differentiated from productive labour or "work" that is paid and generally takes place outside the home. For paid domestic workers the performance of other people's reproductive labour is paid work and the performance of that work is shaped by the social relations of both reproductive labour and productive labour.

The social relations of reproductive labour differ from those of paid labour. Reproductive labour is carried out within the home and is negotiated between household or family members. The majority of reproductive labour is done by women and their responsibility for this work is at the root of their oppression within

capitalist society. Society is structured around the assumption that women are primarily responsible for housework and childcare and institutions and social practices develop that reflect this assumption. All women therefore are affected by this gendered division of labour, whether or not they as individuals carry out reproductive labour. The social relationships of paid work reflect this gendering of reproductive labour but also include other dimensions. Most importantly paid work is structured on class lines; some people own or manage the means of production while most have to sell their labour for pay. Access to paid work may also be affected by race. In the UK people from ethnic minorities experience higher rates of unemployment than whites and are concentrated in particular industries (Modood 1997; Wallman 1979). A person's experience of paid employment will, therefore, depend not only on their gender but also their class and ethnicity.

This chapter examines the context of paid domestic labour in London. It looks first at paid domestic labour as a form of reproductive labour and examines the importance of reproductive work to the position of women in society. It reflects that the invisibility of unpaid reproductive work, that is that it is rarely seen as "work", tends to demean the labour of those who do the same tasks for pay. Next, the chapter examines domestic labour as a form of paid work and looks at how different groups access the labour market. The segmentation of the labour market along class, gender and ethnic lines is discussed and the impact this has on the paid domestic labour force is outlined. Women are restricted when entering paid work by practical and ideological constraints that define them as primarily concerned with reproductive labour. They often cannot work full-time and are steered towards occupations that replicate their care-based role in the home. The chapter explores the nature of class in modern capitalism. Class divisions provide the context within which all paid work takes place. Class inequalities mean that some people are able to pay for help in the home whilst others need to take those jobs. Class inequalities also create other divisions such as those between genders and those amongst people with different ethnic backgrounds. The importance of racism within labour markets is considered, and how people from different ethnic groups become ghettoised into certain occupations is discussed. Finally, the chapter considers the importance of employment relationships to the reproduction of existing ideologies and hierarchies. Ideology facilitates the reproduction of structures that are unequal and encourages those that suffer from the inequality to reproduce their own disadvantage. The context of paid domestic labour is not only the material conditions within which it

takes place, but also the social construction of reproductive labour and paid labour.

Reproductive Labour, Women's Oppression and Paid Domestic Work

Paid domestic labour is one way in which reproductive labour can be performed. As a form of reproductive labour it is subject to the social relations that govern that work as well as those of paid work. Reproductive labour takes place outside the capitalist system; it is privatised within families and is generally performed free by family members. Reproductive labour is overwhelmingly the responsibility of women and this responsibility is the basis of their oppression. It shapes their experience of every aspect of life including their participation in the paid labour force. The exclusion of reproductive labour from capitalist relations of production ensures that it remains unpaid and invisible. Housework is not seen as work and the labour of those that do it is invisible and unappreciated. This invisibility also affects those who perform these tasks for pay and they are exploited both as workers, who are paid less than their labour is worth to their employers, and as housewives are, as their labour is invisible. This section explores the origin of women's oppression and its roots in women's responsibility for reproductive tasks. It then examines debates in the feminist literature surrounding the nature of women's oppression. It goes on to discuss how women's oppression in general shapes the performance of paid domestic work and discusses the extent to which existing feminist theory is useful in investigating the nature of paid domestic labour.

Reproductive Labour and Women's Oppression

The women's liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s raised awareness of women's oppression within capitalist society and motivated activists and academics alike to seek an explanation for women's denigrated status. In Britain, feminists used the works of Marx and Engels to describe how women had historically become oppressed (Malos 1995). Engels (1978) had traced women's oppression as having its roots in the privatised family and women's responsibility for reproductive labour that arose with class-divided societies. This explanation has been accepted by Marxists and many socialist feminists. However, radical feminists, originally in the United States but later also in Britain, favoured explanations of women's oppression that identified intrinsic differences in men's and women's characters. These theories have been criticised by Marxists and some feminists for locating women's oppression outside the social context in which it happens and for ignoring the relationship between class divisions and other inequalities in society. This section examines this debate about the origin of women's oppression and then briefly reviews the literature on the relationship between women's responsibility for reproductive labour and their subordination.

Marxists have analysed women's responsibility for domestic reproduction as the key to understanding women's oppression within capitalism. Engels (1978) analysed the findings of contemporary anthropologists and described the development of society from early egalitarian groups without class or gender divisions through settled, slave owning societies to feudalism and then to capitalism. Many anthropologists such as Leacock (1972) and those working with Max Gluckman in Manchester in the 1950s (Kuper 1993) have supported Engels' analysis.

Engels (1978) wrote of the origins of women's oppression being in the privatised, monogamous family, a form of social organisation which arose with the first class societies. It was class inequalities, rather than some form of "patriarchy" that caused women's oppression. "Monogamy arose from the concentration of larger wealth in the hands of a single individual - a man - and from the need to bequeath this wealth to the children of that man and no other" (Engels 1978 p.87). The monogamous family created the private family and inside this women's labour in reproduction became a privatised service done for her family rather than social labour done publicly and for the group as it had been previously. This privatisation devalued women's work as it made it invisible and akin to servitude, a personal service rather than a social good. It resembled work done by a servant for a master rather than that done by equals for each other to attain a common goal. Engels' argument is that with class divisions come gender divisions. Women's oppression is not a product of capitalism specifically but of class divisions generally.

For working class families under capitalism property inheritance has never been an important factor in family form but social norms which favour monogamy persist. Proletarian women are expected to perform reproductive labour and it is this responsibility which prevents them from taking part in the labour market on the same basis as men . So, even in families where monogamy does not fulfil its original role it is powerful as an institution which limits women's ability to engage in social labour and therefore to participate equally in society. As Engels wrote (1978, p. 86) "The first condition for the liberation of women is to bring the whole of the female sex back into public industry, and that demands the abolition of the monogamous family's attribute of being the economic unit of society."

In contemporary England women's oppression still has its roots in women's responsibility for domestic labour even though most women are part of the paid workforce. The assumption that women ought to provide reproductive labour is still very much alive and it is a view that benefits capital in a number of ways. First, it feeds the notion that the reproduction of the labour force should take place within the privatised family; this means that all reproductive labour (be it that of men or

women) is unpaid. The Office of National Statistics estimated that in 1997 unpaid work within the home was worth £739 billion, more than the total value of the formal economy (Benn 1997). Second, it acts to marginalise the importance of women's paid work. The idea that women work for 'pin money', that is that their work is unnecessary to household finances, acts to keep the wages of women down and to direct women into the lowest paid and part-time jobs (Duncan 1991). This, in turn, affects the wages of all workers as men are forced to also accept lower wages in order to stay in employment. Last, sexism, the ideology that women are inferior to men because of their gender, divides workers from each other, weakening their ability to organise as a group and improve their pay or conditions (German 1994). The benefits which capitalism gains from women's oppression provide its material base. While these benefits exist the ideology which perpetuates them will be fed by the ruling class and gender differences will remain institutionalised. Recent government attacks on one-parent families, unmarried couples, gays and working mothers[1] are all part of a constant ideological battle to convince both women and men that women are naturally responsible for reproductive labour.

Radical feminists have opposed this analysis of the origin of women's oppression and have favoured explanations which root women's oppression in male dominance or 'patriarchy'. Some branches of Marxist feminism have also argued that patriarchy must be analysed along with capitalism as a source of female oppression. For radical feminists patriarchy is the sole source of women's oppression and is a trans-historical feature of the organisation of society which involves women being exploited by men. For some radical feminists the basis of patriarchy is in male violence which is used to subordinate women (Walby 1990). This position has been criticised by Marxists for its separation of ideas from class struggle or stage in history (German 1994) and by others for its reliance solely on some sort of "natural" division of the sexes due to male chauvinist ideas (Fox 1988). As Fox (1988, p 164) states, "Arguments that rest on assumptions of an innate (male) desire for power are invalid".

For other brands of feminism patriarchy is more often conceptualised alongside capitalism as a source of oppression. Some writers have seen the two to be separate but related spheres, while others have depicted them to be both part of the same system. These are called the dual system and single system theories respectively (Walby 1990; McDowell and Court 1994a). Both these theories have been criticised for their failure to see the link between production and reproduction, or rather to see

[1] Most noteably the "Back to Basics " campaign of John Major but also of longer running attacks on gays in the military and in education and the abandonment of the Family Violence Bill in November 1995 because of its equal treatment of unmarried and married battered women.

the material basis for women's oppression in the gains which capital gets from their unpaid labour in reproduction. To quote Fox again (1988, p.167):

> The most obvious logical inconsistency here arises with Delphy's argument [that] the key labour that women perform and men appropriate is child care. The problem is that children themselves - and ultimately the labour market and the state - are the beneficiaries of this motherwork. Men as fathers are not, at least not any more so than mothers.

Women's oppression can be seen to benefit capitalism more than it does any individual man and must be understood as a product of class society. The persistence of sexist ideas and institutions within contemporary society can be explained by the benefit capital gains from women's unpaid reproductive labour and the effects this has on wage rates in general.

The early feminist analysis of the centrality of unpaid reproductive labour to women's oppression caused many feminist writers to seek a greater understanding of how housework was performed and how it related to the capitalist mode of production. In the 1960s the first academic studies of housework and housewives were carried out in Britain (Oakley 1974a; Oakley 1974b) and these coincided with activists' writings on the importance of housework to society and to those who carry it out. During the late 1960s and 1970s two important debates developed surrounding the issue of housework: the domestic labour debate, that attempted to analyse housework using Marxist concepts of exploitation, and the wages for housework debate, that discussed whether women should be paid for the performance of reproductive tasks.

During the late 1960s and 1970s Marxist feminists tried to explain contemporary women's oppression in economic terms by applying the Marxist concept of exploitation to unpaid labour in the home (German 1994). The ensuing debate , the Domestic Labour Debate, was largely inconclusive as it applied concepts developed by Marx to describe the exploitation of paid labour to unpaid reproductive labour (Himmelweit 1983). Margaret Benston (1969) argued that women had a different relationship to the means of production than men and that reproductive labour could only be understood as a form of peasant, or pre-capitalist production as it did not produce commodities. This was countered by a number of Marxist feminists who argued that, as labour power is a commodity, reproductive labour is a form of capitalist commodity production (Gardiner, Himmleweit and Macintosh 1976). Although it failed to explain women's oppression in terms of exploitation, the debate did draw attention to the importance of unpaid reproductive labour to capitalism and in turn laid the basis for the debate surrounding whether women should be paid for housework.

Starting from the position that reproductive labour was important to capitalism as a form of commodity production, a group of feminists argued that women should be paid wages for housework. In Britain this position was first put by Selma James in 1972 (Malos 1995). Those arguing for wages for housework were countered by others who saw this as a way in which women's place in the home would become institutionalised and would be reinforced rather than challenged (Malos 1995). The ensuing argument split the British women's movement in two and these sides became more polarised into radical or separatist feminists and socialist feminists and Marxists.

The last two decades have seen a decline in activist feminist writings but an increase in academic interest in gender and feminist issues (McDowell 1993a; McDowell 1993b; McDowell and Sharp 1997). The first wave of studies of housework that attempted to theorise its importance and draw attention to the value of women's work have been followed by a diversity of approaches to the study of housework. Theoretical debate has focused on the benefits men, as individuals, receive from women's oppression. Meanwhile empirical studies have examined the impacts of male redundancies on the performance of housework, class and ethnic differences between women and, since the 1980s, the role of paid domestic labourers (Malos 1995).

Paid Domestic Labour as Reproductive Labour

The responsibility of women for domestic work is the cornerstone of an ideology which oppresses women and limits their opportunities. Just as this ideology oppresses women who engage in paid work outside the home, devaluing their contribution, holding their wages down and denying them promotion, so it works on paid domestic labourers. Their work is construed as a natural activity, its value is denied and its difficulty unappreciated. Sexism exploits an ideology that a woman's place is in the home whether or not she is paid to be there. However, the position of paid domestic workers cannot be understood purely in terms of gender divisions. Studies of paid domestic workers have revealed the importance of class and ethnic differences to the lives of women and the experience of their individual oppression. This section examines the importance of gender roles and gender ideologies to domestic workers' experiences. It also discusses the usefulness of feminist theories in explaining the nature of paid domestic labour .

For domestic workers the effect of the idea that reproductive work is women's work is particularly important as it is experienced in a number of different ways. In the first place, sexism creates the conditions in which the domestic worker enters the labour market, often restricted to taking part-time work which will be badly paid and

of low status. On top of this the domestic worker suffers from her labour being construed as non-work within capitalism as it involves tasks more often done by unpaid labour. In contemporary London many domestic workers are also affected by the conditions in which their employers enter the labour market. Many women only feel that it is possible to work because of the paid labour of the domestic worker relieving some of the burden of reproductive responsibilities (Gregson and Lowe 1994). Demanding jobs for employers may inflict long or unpredictable hours on domestic employees, particularly those caring for children. For women who can afford to pay for help in the home some of the stress of the competing demands of home and work can be transferred to the domestic worker. This is a situation which is different from that shown in many studies of domestic workers in other countries or at other times because of the number of working women who employ domestic help in England today.

The responsibility that women bear for domestic work has been found by many writers to be vital in shaping the demand for paid domestic labour. Some studies, such as those by Gill (1994) and Goldsmith (1989) , have shown that the association of domestic work with women's work is an aspect of its low status and it is this status that makes middle class women unwilling to engage in it. In contrast to this, Gregson and Lowe (1994) found that for dual career couples in England it was sheer volume of work which led women who had no help with housework from their partners to employ paid domestic labour. For women working in domestic employment the construction of this work as 'women's work' has been shown to be an important influence on their route into paid domestic labour. For many women the 'unskilled' character of domestic labour has given them access to this form of employment. The supposition that all women do domestic work, and know how to, has enabled women to enter this sector while they are excluded from others which require more formal skills. Many studies have shown that this is particularly important for migrant women (McBride 1974; Gonzales 1976; Rubbo and Taussig 1983; see for example Colen 1989; Garcia Castro 1989). Other research has shown that rather than being perceived as an opportunity, domestic labour has been a sector into which women have been directed by outside agencies. Gregson and Lowe (1994) have shown that the careers advice given to girls was different from that given to boys, directing girls towards nannying as a job. Anderson's (1993) study of Filipina migrant workers demonstrated that women were sent by employment agencies to be domestic workers, no matter how highly qualified they were, while men were sent to other types of work.

When in the job, domestic workers may find gender ideologies to be a potent force in their experience. The assumption that women are 'naturally' responsible for domestic labour has been shown to be important in shaping the experience of paid domestic workers. For many domestic employees the supposition that women ought to do domestic labour has been important in increasing the length of their working day and decreasing their autonomy. For live-in domestic workers in Latin America the presumption that their role as domestic labourers is only natural for young women is an important component in their construction as 'daughters' of their employer's family. Their work is seen as something which is a favour or a duty, as housework done by a female family member would be, and this enables employers to demand long hours of work and to impose as many restrictions on their employees as they would on their children (Young 1987; Radcliffe 1990). It is not only young women in Latin America who experience the elision between paid domestic labour and unpaid housework. Gregson and Lowe (1994) report nannies in England being asked to baby-sit at night or carry out other domestic work such as cleaning "as a favour" to their employers. The expectation that women are responsible for housework and childcare is vital to the construction of domestic work as non-work when women do it.

Feminist theory has been useful in providing a structure within which paid domestic labour can be understood. Feminist writers have illustrated the unique status of reproductive labour and provided an insight into the ways in which domestic workers are subject to patriarchal household relations. However, feminist theories are inadequate as a means of explaining the experiences of paid domestic workers which are a product of class and ethnicity as well as gender. A number of writers have examined the challenge that paid domestic employment poses to feminist unity, as female employers and female workers have different interests.

Studies of domestic work have drawn on the work of feminists to explain the experience of those performing domestic labour for pay. Writers on paid domestic labour have drawn heavily on the feminist debate surrounding women's responsibility for reproductive labour and how this responsibility affects their status. Many feel that the low status accorded to housework done by women who are not paid, transfers itself directly to domestic workers who are paid. As Goldsmith (1989 p. 229) argues "there is a symbolic meaning attached to domestic labor [sic]: any woman who does it, whether housewife or maid, is implicitly a poorer member of society." A number of writers have also used the feminist concept of patriarchal and paternalist gender relations within households to understand the exploitation of domestic workers(for example Ibarra 1979; Cock 1987; Young 1987; Garcia Castro 1989; Radcliffe 1990).

It is argued that these relations work both to increase the exploitation of the domestic worker and to limit her freedom. Patriarchal beliefs that reproductive work is 'naturally' female undermine the status of the domestic worker as a *worker* and construe her labour as a 'favour' or a 'duty'. Also the place of the domestic worker as a quasi-family member often brings her under the control of the family who impose their ideas of the 'proper' behaviour of women and limit her ability to associate or recreate freely.

Feminist approaches can be seen to be both critical of the status quo and sensitive to the experiences of individual women. However, many writers have debated the applicability of feminism to the study of domestic employment because, although it is a topic which has as its subject a group which is almost exclusively made up of women (often of women who are oppressed and exploited), simultaneously it is one of the few situations in which the employers (and exploiters?) of these women are most often themselves female. Thus, it is highly unlikely that the exploitation of domestic workers can be understood in gender terms alone. Romero (1988b), de Melo (1989), and Duarte (1989) all make reference to the threat which paid domestic service poses to feminist unity. Both employer and employee are oppressed by the gender division of labour within the home yet the solutions to each group's problems bring them into conflict with the other because of their class. For some middle-class and ruling-class feminists the solution to their oppression is to push their burden on to other, poorer women whom they can afford to pay. Some feminists have even argued that women should strive to do this wherever possible as part of a more 'equitable' way of life: "for those who can afford it, paying someone to clean the house or cook meals is preferable to making it the duty of one household member" (Barrett and McIntosh 1982 p. 144 quoted in German 1994 p. 78). Gill (1994 p. 7) reflects on the problems this creates for unity, "How...is the general subordination of women to be understood when some women, who usually define themselves as members of a superior class or ethnic group, hire others to carry out the domestic duties that are typically assigned to women?" She then goes on to comment,

> The importance of this question is usually brought home to me whenever I have lectured on my Bolivian research to student audiences at American elite colleges in the United States. Many women who would not be offended by the label "feminist" are insulted by my analysis of the exploitative mistress-servant relationships in Bolivia because they feel my description of Bolivian domestic service demonstrates uncomfortable parallels to their own experience... These young women typically rush to portray themselves as caring human beings and defend their relationships with their servants. Yet they entirely overlook the vast gulf created by race, class and national origin that separates employers from servants, and the implications for the exercise of power are lost on them.

Two writers have used the example of paid domestic employment to challenge specific feminist theories. Duarte (1989) challenges the 'double-day thesis' developed to explain the oppression of women in Western capitalist countries on account of their dual roles as wage labourers and reproductive workers. Duarte argues that this does not work in the Dominican Republic where 27% of the economically active female population are live-in domestic workers who simultaneously relieve middle-class women of their double day and are not subject to one themselves as they are rarely responsible for the care and socialisation of their own children. However, the domestic workers are still oppressed and, it could be argued, their employers suffer from oppression as women too. Graham (1991) uses the example of paid domestic care in Britain to criticise narrow feminist analyses of women's role in caring which do not take into account class or race. Traditional feminist analyses of carers have examined the burden of unpaid care for kin which many women face. However, Graham has argued that, although many women may be involved in caring for kin in their own homes, for working-class women, many of whom are black, the burden of care can also be for non-kin and is taken on for pay.

The relationship between those studying paid domestic labour and the feminist schools is, it can be seen, uncomfortable. A common interest in improving the lives of women is fractured by a situation in which women's interests appear to diverge. Most women studying the lives of domestic workers are particularly sympathetic to their plight and are critical of their employment conditions. Some feminists however, are women who employ domestic workers to ease their double burden (or just to relieve themselves of unpleasant household tasks if they do not work outside the home) and, therefore, have interests which are different from the domestic workers they employ. The paid domestic labour relationship is one of the clearest examples of a situation which divides women along class lines, employer from employee. For this reason a feminist analysis is insufficient when studying the employment relations of paid domestic work. Concepts which feminists have developed help provide a key to understanding the relationship between women's oppression and their domestic burden but they are not enough to explain the oppression of those who are paid to do domestic labour. An analysis which is sensitive to divisions amongst women along class and ethnic lines is necessary in this situation.

Domestic Labour and Work

Paid domestic labour must be understood both as a form of reproduction and as a job. The social relations of reproduction have an important influence on the status of paid domestic workers and on the content of their work. The social relations of employment shape domestic workers' experience of the labour market and influence

their relationship with employers. The social relations of employment are mediated by gender, class and race. Women's experience of work is limited by the assumption that their primary role is reproductive and by the material constraints they face because of that role. Working class people are restricted in their choice of jobs to the most mundane and poorly paid jobs and people from ethnic minorities are ghettoised into particular occupations, usually at the bottom of the hierarchy. Domestic workers suffer as members of all three of these groups. They are almost exclusively working class women and are often recent migrants or members of ethnic minorities. Their choice of jobs is restricted and their experience of work is produced by the interaction of these social structures. This section looks in turn at how gender, class and race affect participation in the workforce and how each of these hierarchies is reinforced and reproduced in the workplace.

Women in the Workforce

The preceding section has demonstrated that women's assumed responsibility for reproductive labour underlies the conditions they experience as part of the paid labour force. The burden of childcare and housework may materially restrict the hours women can work and the distances they can travel (Duncan 1991; Hanson and Pratt 1995), thus limiting employment opportunities. The assumption that women's wages constitute only a secondary household income has persistently held down levels of pay and kept women in the worst paid jobs. Simultaneously, the association of women with caring and domestic activities inside the home is carried over into paid employment and has developed as an ideological, rather than a practical, restriction on the type of work women can enter. At a local scale, economic structure can combine with gender inequalities to produce varied and unique expressions of gender roles in the paid labour market as different industrial mixes pull certain groups into the labour market in particular ways . This local environment will then be an active component in the reiteration of gender relations in the future. In this way inequalities are reinforced and reproduced by local cultural and economic structures.

Gender Segregation at work.

In the last 50 years women's participation in paid employment has been increasing in most parts of the world. More women are entering work and they are doing a greater variety of different jobs in a greater variety of industries (Stitcher 1997). However the characteristics of women's paid employment still differ from those of men (Walby 1997). Studies of women's participation in paid employment have highlighted the fact that women's employment is segregated from men's both horizontally, that is between sectors, and vertically, between levels in the same sector

(Bradley 1997). Women work in a more limited number of areas, are more likely to be employed in routine and monotonous tasks and on average earn only 60-80% of men's wages (Walby 1997).

The practical demands of childbearing and domestic work restrict women's participation in paid work in a number of ways. First, women often enter the labour force as part-time workers in order to co-ordinate the demands of work and family (Weeks 1980). Women are more likely than men to perform housework, to look after children and to care for elderly or sick family members. It is calculated that in 1989 222,000 women in Britain were prevented from entering paid work altogether and a further 146,000 had their hours of work restricted because of the care they provided for dependent relatives (Rees 1992 p.10). The need to take on part-time employment limits women's choice of jobs. There are few sectors that take on a large number of part-time workers and very few opportunities for employment beyond the most basic menial and routine occupations. Women's concentration in retailing, routine manufacturing and basic clerical roles is in part explained by the opportunities for part-time employment that exist in these sectors (Bradley 1997). Part-time employment also holds women's wages down and prevents their progress up the career ladder. Part-time workers find it difficult to gain access to well-paid work and are generally considered outside normal career progression routes. Even for women working full-time, breaks from work in order to have children can damage promotion prospects as seniority is lost (Rees 1992). The working practices expected of salaried workers in some industries may also effectively exclude anyone with family responsibilities, particularly at more senior levels (Massey, Quintas et al. 1992) .

Women may also have their choice of job limited by a lack of formal skills. Despite girls' educational qualifications in Britain now being higher than boys', women often lack vocational qualifications or formal training (Rees 1992). Many skills that women possess, such as caring, cleaning and cooking are thought to be innate 'feminine' qualities or are learnt in an informal environment. Women's skills are less often formally credentialised than men's and therefore remain invisible and unrewarded. As Rees (1992 pp 17-18) reports "Classification systems ... used to describe occupations are skewed in favour of jobs performed by men: the degree of gradation calculated in skill level, and the detail in differentiation between, for example, welders of different materials is almost loving in it meticulousness. ... By contrast secretarial and clerical jobs, from company executives' personal assistants through to copy typists and data entry clerks, are afforded hardly any distance between them."

Women's participation in the paid labour force is mediated by ideological as well as practical restrictions. The range of jobs available to women will largely be defined by how occupations are sex-typed, that is how they become seen as suitable for women or men. There are variations in how occupations have been sex-typed at other times or in other places, but broadly speaking women are concentrated in jobs that are commercialised forms of the same activities they perform within the home, such as the care and servicing of others (Bradley 1997). Throughout the world, whether in the subsistence or paid sectors, women are mainly responsible for the provision of food, care of the home, childcare, nursing the sick, teaching and manufacture of clothing.

Occupations can also be sex-typed by certain common features. Typically "women's work" is indoor, clean, safe and physically undemanding. It is considered to be boring and requires dexterity rather than skill (Bradley 1997). Women's ability to carry out tasks with these characteristics is often attributed to their innate qualities rather than being understood as socially construed. For example, manual dexterity is not a natural talent that all women have but a skill that is developed in domestic tasks such as sewing and cooking (Stitcher 1997). Women are rarely expected to take on jobs that are highly technical, require scientific expertise, intelligence, authority or responsibility (Bradley 1997). This sex-typing of work restricts the sectors that women enter and the levels they reach. Apart from a few exceptions, where women do reach positions of authority it is in sectors where they dominate at all levels and which are an extension of their traditional caring role, such as nursing or teaching (Weeks 1980). Sex-typing is less a product of the practical restraints women face in entering the paid workforce and more an ideological construct. Both employers' prejudices and workers' own sex-role socialisation perpetuate the definition of certain tasks as appropriate to women or men (Stitcher 1997).

This segregation of occupations by gender will limit the opportunities of women entering paid employment. Domestic responsibilities may restrict the hours that a woman can work and ideological assumptions will make some jobs appear as more suitable than others. Paid domestic labour is an example of a gender segregated occupation. The vast majority of domestic workers in the world are women and where men do enter the sector it is often in more senior or managerial posts. Paid domestic labour in contemporary Britain is often a part-time job that can be flexible enough to fit around childcare responsibilities. It is clearly an extension of the type of work women do in their own homes, and therefore, women find entry to the sector relatively easy as they are perceived to have the skills necessary for the job.

Gendered Lifecycles

Age, or stage in life cycle, can have an important impact on women's participation in paid labour. Women's domestic responsibilities can vary greatly during their life course. These variations can restrict or enhance opportunities for paid work both practically and ideologically. Life cycles also have a geography, both in that they vary for different groups of women in different parts of the world and that they influence the movement of individual women in space (Katz and Monk 1993).

Women's life cycles are shaped by their ability to bare children, the domestic responsibilities that come with that and also with care for elderly relatives. Many women move from childhood and adolescence to a period of early adulthood with relatively few restrictions before they become mothers. Following this, if they have children, most women negotiate their productive and reproductive roles balancing one against the other. The ways in which people can do this vary greatly from society to society and between groups within the same society (Katz and Monk 1993). Increasingly women in the first world stay in paid labour after starting a family (Pratt and Hanson 1993) but they may do this by working part time or by working from home (Christensen 1993). Therefore the type of work women enter and the hours that they work will often vary during their life course.

People are all more spatially mobile at certain times of their lives than others and people with higher levels of spatial mobility have greater access to resources and power than those without (Laws 1997) . A lack of spatial mobility can restrict access to leisure and work opportunities and to political power. Traditionally women have had less spatial mobility than men because of their relative poverty and child care responsibilities. Women living in first world cities were thought to make more short journeys to a wider variety of different places, to have lower levels of car ownership and to be more dependent on public transport than men (Rosenbloom 1993; Hill 1996). Rosenbloom (1993) argues that stage in life course is a crucial influence on women's transport use. Women with children face the extra complications of meeting their transport needs; women were much more likely to chauffeur both school age and pre-school children than men. Older women are more likely to have their mobility restricted by lack of access to a car. Hill (1996) argues that income differences between women, which can also be a product of life cycle stage, could be a more significant influence on mobility than differences between genders. Spatial mobility is an important aspect of women's participation in paid work. A lack of spatial mobility restricts job choice to a smaller area and may restrict working hours. Spatial mobility can be effected by gender but more specifically by gender, class and position in life cycle combined.

Life cycle stage can pose practical restrictions on women's participation in paid work and can also restrict behaviour because of the expectations placed on people of certain ages. Laws (1997) argues that bodies are subjected to a process of social inscription or "social tattooing" (p. 51). Bodies are inscribed with meaning because of their biological sex, their colour and also their age. This social inscription affects how people with particular bodily characteristics move within space and participate in various activities. Mobility can be constrained by ideas that some places are safe and others dangerous and some bodies are vulnerable whilst others are resilient. Access to paid work can be limited or increased by the social encoding of bodies. Certain bodies are thought to be more appropriate for certain jobs and the combination of gender and age, often also with class and ethnicity, will limit the range of jobs deemed appropriate for any person.

Gendered life cycles are an important element in both demand for and supply of paid domestic workers. Within employing households, child rearing may place demands on one or both partners that creates a desire for help either with childcare or other household chores. Households with a traditional division of labour where women are overwhelmingly responsible for domestic tasks are more likely to take on paid help (Gregson and Lowe 1994). Life cycle, gender roles and class combine within these households to create demand for paid domestic labour. Employees entry into the domestic labour force, and what part of it they join, is also a product of gendered life cycles. The form this takes can vary between places. Radcliffe (1993) has demonstrated that in the Peruvian Andes women's more marginal role in the household division of labour is a force behind their migration to urban areas to find work. Young women do not have an important place within the household division of labour before they have children and are able to migrate and become domestic workers. In Britain, women with and without children seek different types of paid domestic work. Au pairs are young and have to live in whereas cleaners are more likely to be negotiating paid work and child care. Employment opportunities for these women may be enhanced by a body image which is seen as appropriate for a particular domestic job.

Gender Roles and Gender Identities

Women's entry to the paid labour force is mediated by the practical constraints of domestic responsibilities and ideologies that designate only certain jobs as "appropriate" to women. These ideologies are not just imposed from outside but are internalised by individuals who will accept them and recreate them even to their own disadvantage. People come to define themselves in terms of the roles they fill and to find satisfaction in fulfilling them. The development of gendered identities

associated with particular occupations is one of the most enduring ways in which jobs are gendered as those who do the jobs, even when they suffer because of their characteristics, will actively reproduce their gendered form.

Massey has written on the relationship between economic structure and gender roles and on the manipulation of identities for the benefit of capitalism. In her work with McDowell, first published in 1984 (Massey and McDowell 1994), the regional variations in the articulation of patriarchy and capitalism are examined. The paper provides an insight into the uniqueness of place, particularly in terms of gender relations and women's lives and a comment on the production of local cultural form by local employment structures. The quote below illustrates the gender relationships which arose in mining villages,

> Men were the industrial proletariat selling their labour power to a monopoly employer, who also owned the home. Mining was a dirty, dangerous and hazardous job. Daily, men risked their lives in appalling conditions. The shared risks contributed to a form of male solidarity, and the endowment of their manual labour itself with the attributes of masculinity and virility. The shared dangers at work led to shared interests between men outside work: a shared pit language, shared clubs and pubs, a shared interest in sport (Massey and McDowell 1994 p. 193).

The identification of manual work with masculinity is part of the reproduction of the mining labour force. The association between men and mining provides a workforce prepared to take on this dangerous and dirty job and a population of women who are defined, in opposition to this, as carers and housewives. Willis (1977) also found that the association between masculinity and manual work was the key to the decisions taken by the group of youths he studied to do manual jobs.

In later work, Massey has gone on to examine a quite different form of male-dominated employment and the way in which men's images of themselves, their identities, are a crucial aid to their exploitation. In a study of workers in high-technology industries in the Cambridge area, it was found that the identification of aspects of their work with 'male' characteristics was part of what gave these workers satisfaction and encouraged them to work very long and irregular hours (Massey, Quintas et al. 1992; Henry and Massey 1994; Massey 1995). The men interviewed all worked in high-tech industries in reasonably high status jobs, which they generally loved. They would often work long hours, sometimes through the night, or would have to go abroad with no notice and were generally completely dedicated to their work. Part of the satisfaction they derived from their work had to do with its image as 'difficult' and of themselves as 'intelligent' and not particularly practical. One phrase which many of their partners used to describe this work was, "it's just boys with their toys," and many portrayed their partners as being wonderful scientists but unable to work the washing machine. The men derived their self-image from

their work and, in turn, supported a mode of working (long hours, extreme flexibility) which could then only be entered into by others with a similar identity.

More recent work by McDowell also focuses on examining how identities are created and exploited at work (McDowell and Court 1994a; McDowell and Court 1994b; McDowell 1994c; McDowell 1997). Her work on gender identities within merchant banks explores how new jobs, which have been created as part of rapid service sector growth, have been gendered. She found that corporate strategy and management behaviour play a central role in constructing gendered identities within the workplace. Workers fit into these roles and then actively reproduce them (McDowell and Court 1994a). Financial dealing floors fostered a very macho atmosphere, replete with pin-ups on the walls, sexist language and aggressive horse play. Corporate finance departments were more likely to have an image of traditional masculinity, with very well-groomed, ex-public school men in tailored suits representing the bank. In both places women were rare in non-clerical positions and were expected to fit in, or put up with, the masculine atmosphere.

These studies show the possibility of doing research which locates the creation of identity and culture in an interactive relationship with local economic structures and gender relations. It is this type of approach which will give the clearest insight into the structure of the domestic labour market, the employer-employee relationship and their place in the context of both actors' lives. In order to investigate the interaction between the employer and employee, the identities produced by this interaction and how these identities perpetuate or undermine the inequalities within society, it is crucial that they are located within existing structures.

Class

Class has rarely been rigorously conceptualised by writers on paid domestic labour. Employers and employees are assumed to be separated by some sort of 'class divide' but what the nature of this division is and whether it could ever be bridged is unclear. Yet class divisions are crucial to the structuring of capitalist society and class inequalities impact on all lives. Generally a Weberian concept of class has been adopted by previous studies and classes are conceptualised as containing people with similar lifestyles, housing or levels of income. This study uses a Marxist definition of class that is based on relationship to the means of production. It defines people in terms of how they earn a living rather than their patterns of behaviour. Class is seen not just as something that defines groups of people but also as a driving force in society. This section outlines definitions of class that are used in the study and then examines how class shapes experiences of life and work.

A Marxist definition of class is quite different from a Weberian one. it is not based on grouping people with common patterns of behaviour, consumption or status but on the conflict of interests which exists within capitalism. Classes are defined by Marx in terms of their relation to the means of production and by their opposition to each other. The Marxist conception of class is distinctive from a Weberian one in four key aspects (Callinicos 1987). First, it treats class as a relationship between social groups and not as a position in the social pecking order. Second, the relationship is antagonistic; it is based above all on the extraction of surplus labour from direct producers by a small minority who control the productive forces. This means that class is inseparable from class struggle. Third, the antagonistic relationship is formed in the process of production as the ruling class tries to control the labour of direct producers. Finally, for Marxists, class is an objective relationship. That is, a person's class has to do with their actual place in the relations of production and not their attitudes or behaviour. The historian E.P. Thompson has very eloquently described the essence of a Marxist conception of class:

> Sociologists who have stopped the time machine and, with a good deal of huffing and puffing, have gone down to the engine room to look, tell us that nowhere at all have they been able to locate and classify a class. They can find only a multitude of people with different occupations, incomes and status-hierarchies and the rest. Of course they are right, since class is not this or that part of the machine, but *the way the machine works* once it is set in motion - not this interest and that interest, but the friction of interests - the movement itself, the heat, the thundering noise (Thompson 1965 p.357 emphasis in the original)

The basic division that Marx identified under capitalism was that between the ruling class and the working class, or the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (Marx 1992). These groups are defined by their relationship to the means of production. The ruling class are capitalists who own the means of production and employ others to work for them. Their income is derived from profit and is the result of the exploitation of their employees; that is they do not pay wages equal to the value added by workers as a result of their labour. The working class are defined, not by their income, education or the type of work that they do, but by the fact that they sell their labour for a wage or salary. The proletariat sell a certain proportion of their time and energy to an employer in return for pay, they have little or no control over what they do at work and do not own the products of their labour. As stated above the relationship between the two groups is antagonistic as they have opposing interests. Each can only benefit as the other loses out.

The working class is made up of many different groups of workers, not just those that produce tangible goods in factories. Although Marx located the basis of class struggle and class formation in the productive process he saw that many wage labourers did jobs which were not directly productive, that is they did not produce

surplus value, but were still part of the working class because of their need to sell their labour. He used the example of paid domestic workers, who were the largest single group of the working population at the time. Rather than producing commodities which will be sold to realise a profit, domestic workers were employed by members of the bourgeoisie to provide personal services (Marx 1992). Marx did distinguish between productive and unproductive labour but saw both groups as being equally part of the working class because of their antagonistic relationship to their employers.

The Middle-Class

As well as explaining the relations between the ruling class and the working class, it is necessary to look at more recent debate on the size and nature of the middle classes within modern capitalist society as it is likely that many, if not most, employers of domestic workers are members of this class. The growth of a large white collar labour force in many First World countries has caused some commentators to characterise all non-manual labourers as middle-class and to condemn the working-class, and with it Marx's description of the class system, to the dustbin (Callinicos 1987). This position arises because the nature of the work, its status, conditions and the educational background of those who do it are seen to be the determining factors in defining class rather than the more fundamental question of the worker's relation to the means of production. However, it is also the case that all white-collar workers cannot simply be defined by the fact that they sell their labour and therefore are members of the working-class. White-collar work is a heterogeneous category including all those from routine clerical work or word processing to highly paid managerial occupations.

Recent debate within social geography and sociology has focused in part on differences between parts of the middle class(es) rather than definitions of the class itself (Savage, Barlow et al. 1992; Butler and Savage 1995). These studies explore the impact of changes in economic structure on the size and nature of the middle class(es); their stratification by gender and ethnicity, their employment experiences and their consumption practices and the extent to which the middle class can be considered to be a single class. Important differences are seen to exist between three groups; the entrepreneurial, managerial and professional with their command of property organisational and cultural assets respectively (Lockwood 1995).

However, work such as this and Gregson and Lowe's (1994) definition of all those in professional and managerial posts as constituting the 'service class' or 'new middle class' is unsatisfactory as it does not define a group with similar interests (that is, in class terms, not in terms of what they do with their leisure time). Erik Olin Wright

(1979) developed an alternative definition of the new middle class, which is based on Marxist definitions of class and which takes into account the control which is exercised over capital and the labour process. Wright uses the concept of 'contradictory class locations' to explain who the middle classes are and what are their interests under capitalism.

Wright's analysis of contradictory class locations isolates three central processes which underlie the basic capital-labour relationship. These are: control over the physical means of production, control over labour power, and control over investments and resource allocation. He argues that the three processes do not always coincide and it is the non-coincidence of the dimensions of class relations which defines the contradictory relations within other class relations. Class locations are contradictory because individuals experience aspects of both ruling class and working class positions. As Wright says himself "The concept of contradictory locations within class relations. . . does not refer to problems of pigeon-holing people within an abstract typology; rather it refers to objective contradictions among the real processes of class relations" (Wright 1979 p. 62). Wright identifies three clusters of positions which can be characterised as occupying contradictory locations within class relations (see Figure 2.1). These are:

> 1. *managers and supervisors* occupy a contradictory location between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat;
> 2. certain categories of *semi-autonomous employees* who retain relatively high levels of control over their immediate labour process occupy a contradictory class location between the working class and the petty bourgeoisie;
> 3. *small employers* occupy a contradictory location between the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie (Wright 1979 p. 63 emphasis in the original)

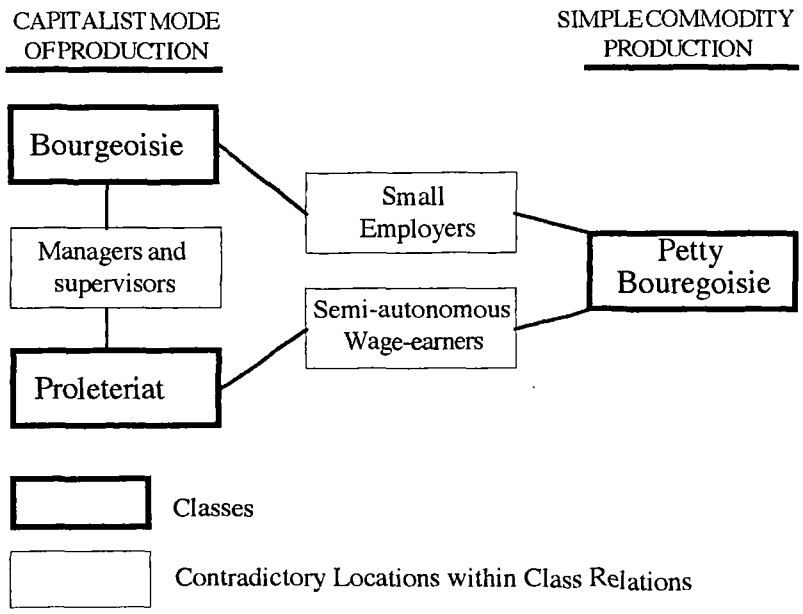


Figure 2.1 Contradictory Class Locations (after Wright 1979 p. 63)

These groups who are in contradictory class locations are the middle-classes. At some times and in some ways they have interests in common with one class and at other times, and in other ways, with another. Although the middle classes identified here are very similar to Gregson and Lowe's 'service class', it is important that they are not merely a group of people who share similar patterns of consumption or recreation, or have followed a similar educational course, but distinct groups within capitalist class relations who are defined by their roles within capitalism and not by their behaviour.

Class and Identity

The relationship between classes described above can appear to be abstract and removed from the everyday experience of people. Some writers have criticised Marxists for presenting a view of the world that is removed from individual experience (Sayer 1989). It is possible to integrate a Marxist analysis of the material world with an exploration of experiences, constructed identities and social meanings. This allows the investigation of how identities, social meanings and cultural forms are reproduced within the work environment and also takes into account the nature of the society within which that work is taking place.

The now well-known work by Paul Willis (1977) *Learning to Labour* is one study that examines both class structures and the construction of identity. In this study Willis examined the cultural factors which funnel working class school-leavers into the worst jobs. He argues that low educational achievement alone is not enough to explain why working-class children will accept a very limited range of employment opportunities and that reproduction of subjective attitudes which allow labour power to be used for capitalist production must be looked to. He examines the reproduction of these attitudes within the counter-school culture of a group of 'lads' in their last year at school.

Willis argues that although macro-level determinants may be the forces behind the limited choice of jobs for working-class school leavers, their existence does not explain how and why people take these jobs. Rather these forces have to be examined passing through a cultural filter which will reproduce them in a mediated way but a way which can be internalised and authenticated subjectively. To quote Willis (1977, p. 172):

> In the case of job choice amongst the unqualified working class, for instance, we can *predict* final employment quite well from class background, geographical location, local opportunity structure, and educational attainment. Certainly these factors will give us a better guide than expressed intention from individuals say during vocational guidance counselling. But what is it to say in any sense that these variables *determinate* job choice? We are still left with the problem of the forms of decision taking and of the apparent basis of willing acceptance of restricted opportunities. To

> quote the larger factors is really no form of explanation at all. It does not identify a chain or set of causalities which indicate particular outcomes from many possible ones. It simply further outlines the situation which is still in need of explanation: *how* and *why* young people take the restricted and often meaningless available jobs in ways which seem sensible to them in their familiar world as it is actually lived. For a proper treatment of these questions we must go to the cultural milieu ... and we must accept a certain autonomy of the processes at this level which both defeats any simple notion of mechanistic causation and gives the social agents involved some meaningful scope for viewing, inhabiting and constructing their own world in a way which is recognisably human and not theoretically reductive.

Willis' study demonstrates that it is possible to give credence to the importance of structures in shaping opportunity yet it is also necessary to investigate how these structures operate within individual lives and how they are accepted, internalised, rejected or contested by people on a day-to-day level.

Class and Paid Domestic Labour

In general class has not been rigorously conceptualised by those studying paid domestic labour. Class divisions are seen as dividing employers and employees and employers are overwhelmingly referred to as being 'middle-class', without any problematisation of that concept. The only studies which differentiate employers by class come from South America. Garcia-Castro (1989) argues that there is a difference in the attitude of middle and upper class employers towards their employees, the middle-class families being harsher and more demanding in their treatment. In a similar vein, Gill (1994) discusses the different circumstances of middle-class and upper-class employers which influence the type of domestic labour they employ. However, not even these studies define what is meant by these terms and one is left with a body of literature which portrays class as crucial but is not energetic in investigating the nature of class and class relationships.

Class society is the context within which paid domestic labour exists. It can be seen to divide domestic workers from their employers, but it is not a simple divide between members of the ruling class and the working class. Many employers of domestic workers are not members of the bourgeoisie and they do not own the means of production. In their own jobs they may be working class, petty bourgeoisie or occupy one of the contradictory class locations. However, in becoming employers of domestic workers they are able to direct the labour of another and, therefore, will necessarily fall into a contradictory position even if they do not do so in their own jobs. The division of society into unequal classes also creates other forms of inequality, most notably between men and women and between people with different ethnic backgrounds. These divisions also mediate the form that paid domestic labour takes and the relationships that exist between employer and employee.

The class of domestic workers is defined in the same way as that of all other workers, in terms of their relation to the means of production. The overwhelming majority of domestic workers are working class, regardless of their parents' or spouses' occupations. A very few, such as some butlers and executive housekeepers, act as managers of large households and direct the labour of others and are, therefore, middle-class holding one of the contradictory class locations. They have a contradictory relation to their employers as they manage staff on their behalf but they are still their employees.

Understanding that paid domestic work is work allows the employer/employee relationship to be seen as a class relationship. The employer and her cleaner, nanny, cook or whatever are not two women "in it together" being exploited by men. There are an employer whose interest lies in getting the most work out of her employee for the smallest amount of pay, and a worker whose interests are diametrically opposed to this. This is not to say that all, or even many, employers act to realise this interest or that workers try to reduce their input, but it is clear that they do not have common interests and these competing interests have to be negotiated within the employment relationship.

It is class that divides domestic workers from their employers. As with all occupations the difference of interests between employers and employees is a class difference. However, within the domestic labour sector the waters are muddied by the nature of the work and the form which the oppression of domestic workers takes. Gender inequalities which place the burden of domestic labour on women are often at the root of decisions to employ domestic help and are important in restricting the opportunities of women who become domestic workers (Gregson and Lowe 1994) . Also, race or ethnicity may appear to divide employers and employees and in many situations the interaction of class and ethnic divisions is complicated and the effects subtle. The following section investigates the role of ethnic inequalities in shaping paid domestic labour in London and how these inequalities interact with class and gender to form the complex mix of hierarchies which constitute the employer/employee relationship and pervade the experience of the domestic worker.

Race and Work

The preceding sections have illustrated the impact that social hierarchies have on a person's access to work and their experience of it. This section examines how ethnicity impacts paid domestic workers. It begins by discussing the nature of racism and the importance of racism to capitalism. It then explores how racism operates in the British economy, restricting the access of ethnic minorities to certain jobs,

especially those at higher levels, and ghettoising groups into particular occupations. It goes on to outline how racism has been seen to impact domestic workers in other parts of the world and the importance of ethnic difference in shaping the paid domestic labourer's experience.

Racism is a prejudice based on nationality, skin colour or religious culture. It condemns the victim for something that is beyond their control and something that cannot be changed. Unlike some forms of nationalism or religious persecution, racism will not end if a person converts to a new religion or if their country is not in dispute with the racist's (Callinicos 1993). In Britain today racism against people with black skin, Muslims and Irish people is particularly potent but many other groups suffer racist discrimination too.

The importance of race and racism to domestic employment in contemporary London can be understood if the role of racism within capitalism is analysed. Marx saw racism as an important facet of capitalism aiding capitalists in three ways. First, he suggested that it creates competition between workers which holds wages down. Incoming migrants will be under pressure to take jobs with bad pay and little security and this will have a knock-on effect to the conditions of all workers. Second, it buys off white workers with what Du Bois called a "psychological wage"(quoted in Callinicos 1993, p. 36), making them think that they have more in common with a white ruling class than with black workers. Third, it divides the working class along racial lines, making their unity against their employers less likely. These points are made very clearly in the following letter which Marx sent to Meyer and Vogt in 1870,

> And most important of all! Every industrial and commercial centre in England possesses a working class divided into two hostile camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he feels himself a member of the ruling nation and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists of his country against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself. He cherishes religious, social and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude is much the same as that of 'poor whites' to the 'niggers' in the former slave states of the USA. The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own money. He sees in the English worker at once the accomplice and stupid tool of English rule in Ireland.
> This antagonism is artificially kept alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes. This antagonism is the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite its organisation. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power. And that class is fully aware of it (Marx and Engels 1965, p. 236-7).

Racism, therefore, benefits the ruling class and disadvantages workers of all colours. One of the most important aspects of racism in relation to paid domestic workers is occupational ghettoisation, the process by which people from ethnic minorities are steered towards the worst jobs and restricted from entering better ones.

Occupational Ghettoisation

The position of women in the paid workforce was described above as being disadvantaged by both practical and ideological restrictions on the type of work that is easily available. People from ethnic minorities are also segregated into certain types of work and prevented from entering highly paid or managerial occupations. People from different ethnic groups have different patterns of employment, but overall non-white people in Britain experience higher rates of unemployment and are over-represented in manual and low grade clerical work. Some ethnic groups are exceptionally concentrated in certain occupations or industries in particular places and these industries become occupational ghettos.

Discrimination against people on racial grounds has been illegal in Britain since 1965 yet immigrants and members of ethnic minorities still have quite different patterns of employment from the white majority (Modood 1997). Black people are concentrated in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs and earn less than white people in the same job levels (Ohri and Faruqi 1988). Over time, differences between ethnic groups in Britain have become more pronounced especially with those from India and East Africa entering higher levels of employment (Modood 1997). However, successful entry to management positions is rarely through the normal avenues and is more likely to be due to self-employment or entrepreneurship (Ohri and Faruqi 1988).

The pattern of employment of ethnic minorities reflects both the circumstances in which they migrated to Britain and the society that they came to. Indian and East African migrants were often from the middle classes in their home country and their current improvement in status reflects a return to pre-migration occupational levels (Modood 1997). Migrants from the Caribbean were often recruited directly into particular industries during the 1950s. This is reflected today in the fact that Caribbean men are still well represented in transport and manufacturing industry and Caribbean women in the health service.

All ethnic minorities suffer higher levels of unemployment than the white majority and, at times of rapid increase in unemployment, it is black people that experience it first. This, combined with the relatively low pay of black people, has convinced some writers that people from ethnic minorities are consistently discriminated against in the labour market. Modood (1997) comments that covert tests of employers revealed that one in three discriminated against black applicants at interview. Ohri and Faruqi (1988) comment that "It must be concluded that blacks are discriminated against at every level and in every sphere... The real explanation for the over-representation of blacks in unemployment statistics is due to *racism* both at an *individual* and *institutional* level" (pp 94-95 emphasis in the original).

Communities respond to the racism they face in society in various ways. Indian and Chinese migrants in the UK have often sought employment outside the larger labour market, either by setting up on their own or by working with other members of their community. Other groups have remained largely outside paid employment, such as recent migrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh (Modood 1997). Still others have filled niches in the labour market that are vacant because no-one with more opportunities wants to fill them and quite rapidly one group can become the majority in their niche. These occupations may then become ethnithised in the same way as others are gendered and only people from particular ethnic groups are perceived as being suitable employees. The people in the jobs may behave as gatekeepers, controlling entry to employment (Wallman 1979).

The labour market can become segmented as only certain ethnic groups have entry to certain sectors, either because of employers' perceptions or because of their own contacts. The process of ghettoisation continues in this way and some ethnic minorities may become overwhelmingly concentrated in just a few industries or workplaces. Herman (1979) gives the example of Macedonians in the restaurant trade in Toronto. Macedonian migrant workers have been concentrated in the Toronto restaurant trade since the 1930s. Although pay is generally low, Macedonians preferred to enter this sector as they were able to learn the business. Employers favoured employing people from the same ethnic group as they would work for lower wages and were considered more trustworthy because they were more dependent (Herman 1979). Khan (1979) examines how gender and ethnicity combine to steer South Asian women in London towards outworking. Racism limits their opportunities and their perceptions of what work is available. The domestic burden and culturally determined gender roles make it harder for women to work outside the home. Informal networks keep women in touch and South Asian women may act as a source of work and as a support mechanism for each other. Women from different areas, and even different countries, feel united by a form of "Asian-ness" (Khan 1979).

Ethnicity and Paid Domestic Labour

Many studies of paid domestic labour have shown how important race and racism are to the life of domestic workers and to the domestic labour market as a whole. These studies can broadly be divided into those which have looked at how racism operates to create segregated labour markets divided along racial lines and those which have analysed the use of racism within employee/employer relationships to divide domestic workers from their employers' families.

Within the first group the most notable studies are those of Glenn (1980; 1981) which examine the predominance of Japanese-American women in paid domestic labour and Romero (1988a; 1988b) who looks at Chicanas in paid domestic work. These studies have shown that certain groups are ghettoised into paid domestic labour, a low paid and low status occupation because racism in the labour market keeps them out of better paid jobs. Domestic service attracts migrants because it is perceived as unskilled, or at least demands no formal skills, and because it often includes accommodation, something which can be particularly attractive to a young woman in a strange place (Garcia Castro 1989).

In the second group detailed studies of domestic workers in Andean countries, where employers are largely white and domestic workers indigenous, have shown the importance of racism as a means of control within the employer/employee relationship. The domestic worker, who usually lives-in, is made to feel separate from and inferior to her employer's family and racial differentiation is one of the ways in which this is achieved. Subtle, and not so subtle, expressions of cultural superiority focus the domestic's mind on her place within the hierarchy. It is implied that she is inferior and lucky to be able to share her employer's 'better' way of life. Radcliffe (1990) and Young (1987) have both shown that the denigration of the domestic worker's culture and name-calling with racist overtones are common aspects of employers' treatment of domestic employees. This racism serves both to separate the worker from her family and, therefore, to make her more dependent on her employers, and to make her feel that she is inferior to the family with whom she lives. In Bolivia, Gill (1994) notes that racist attitudes of whites towards Aymara women who they employed not only caused them to insult their employee's native culture but to treat them as lesser beings who do not have the same emotional or psychological needs as themselves. In England the question of racism within the domestic employer/employee relationship has not been looked at but Anderson (1993) has shown the way that immigrant status can be used to keep domestic workers in jobs which are abusive and dangerous.

In London as elsewhere racism is an important influence shaping who enters the domestic work force and what their experiences are within it. As in other countries, paid domestic labour in England is generally badly paid and often involves little job security. Recent immigrants and people of colour are disproportionately involved in work with these characteristics as racism acts against them getting more secure or better paid work; they are therefore more likely to accept low pay and insecurity. Recent immigrants are likely to enter paid domestic labour for similar reasons to those of migrant women in other countries. It is work that is seen as suitable, it

requires no formal skill and little language proficiency and it can offer housing as well as work. In addition to this, informal recruitment networks may favour the friends and families of those already in post and act to pull women from particular ethnic groups into the sector.

Race does not act separately from class or gender to shape the domestic workforce or workers' experiences of domestic labour. Racism pushes black people into low status jobs just as sexism directs women into unskilled and care-based work. The class system forces the majority of people to sell their labour for a wage and to be exploited for the benefit of their employers. All three direct poor women of colour into paid domestic work. The ideologies of race and gender shape the work experiences, construing domestic labour as 'natural' for women and 'suitable' for poor women and black women.

Gender, Class, Race and Paid Domestic Labour

Gender, race and class do not exist separately but are all facets of capitalist society. They act together to shape society and the experiences of all those within it. Having unpacked the nature of each of these hierarchies, it is possible to see their origins and analyse how they each affect paid domestic workers. It is also possible to examine how they interlock to produce the paid domestic labour market and the employer/employee relationship. Many studies of domestic workers have explored how the ideas of the world around them impact on their decision to become domestic workers and their experiences of the job. Studies have shown that it is through the employer/employee relationship that the prejudices of the outside world shape the domestic worker. However, studies of paid domestic labour in Britain have not examined in detail how race, class and gender together shape paid domestic labour. Also, studies which have examined the impact of racism and sexism on paid domestic workers have not theorised where these ideas come from. An understanding of where ideas in society come from and how they are reproduced is important to explaining the relationship between domestic workers and their employers. This section discusses the nature of ideology, its role in capitalism and the impact it has in reproducing inequalities. It examines how ideology has been a powerful tool for exploiting paid domestic workers in other countries.

Marx analysed all consciousness as having its basis in social interaction. He argued that it was only when social contact, brought about by the need of people to co-operate, existed that consciousness and language came to exist. To quote, "The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men [sic]" (Marx and Engels

1974). This position was in opposition to contemporary philosophers who described consciousness as being the product of a human 'spirit' rather than material circumstances. Marx went on to argue that people's ideas are produced and reproduced during social interaction, particularly at work which is the most basic and necessary form of interaction.

Marx saw ideology as having a very important role under capitalism, in fact as necessary to its continuance, as it provides justification for the inequalities which exist. Under capitalism the circumstances in which people work are different from those of previous epochs and the ideology which capitalism produces reflects this. Capitalism alienates workers from their labour.

> Labour is exterior to the worker, that is, it does not belong to his essence. Therefore he does not confirm himself in his work, he denies himself, feels miserable instead of happy, deploys no free physical work and intellectual energy, but mortifies his body and ruins his mind. Thus the worker only feels a stranger. He is at home when he is not working and when he works he is not at home. His labour is therefore not voluntary but compulsory, forced labour. It is therefore not the satisfaction of a need but only a means to satisfy needs outside itself. How alien it really is is very evident from the fact that when there is no physical or other compulsion, labour is avoided like the plague (Marx, 1977 p123).

In order for this system of alienated labour to be perpetuated ideas are necessary which justify capitalism and explain individuals' experiences. These ideas, or "ideology" as Marx called it (Marx and Engels 1974), cannot be a true explanation of how the system works but are in fact an inversion of this. There are many examples of how ideology inverts reality. Marx gave those of religion, the law and traditional economics (Marx 1977). It is also possible to see how racism and sexism are part of ideology and invert the real situation. In both, society is understood as divided along lines other than those of class. Workers are shown to have more in common with their employers (because they are white or male) than they do with other workers who are black or female.

By understanding the role of ideology as offering an explanation of the inequalities of the world, it is possible to understand why ideas are accepted, and often reiterated, by those whom they harm. Ideology facilitates the acceptance of circumstances which are detrimental to individuals. Studies of domestic workers have shown that racist and sexist ideas are often widely accepted by the very people they denigrate (Young 1987; Radcliffe 1990; Gill 1994) . Class differences are also justified by ideology that presents the inequalities of life as natural and unchangeable; some people as better than others. For domestic workers this is the basis of the employer/employee relationship, the origin of the servility they display to their employers. The domestic employment relation is riddled with the contradictions of capitalism, actively shaped

by ideologies of race, class and gender, which depict certain types of work as suitable for certain people. The relationship is also a potent site of the reproduction of these ideologies. Situated in a space which is both a home and a workplace, it is a relationship which often includes interdependence, friendship and support as well as exploitation.

Studies from Latin America have shown that the live-in domestic worker finds herself in the house of her employers, who often belong to another ethnic or racial group and certainly belong to a different class. This experience of life in the home of people with a different culture is one of the most remarkable facets of the life of the domestic servant. The domestic worker often lives in the home of her employer but is not exactly one of the family and forces operate to convince the worker that she belongs to the family and should display her loyalty but that she is not equal to them. A complex mix of gender, class and ethnic prejudices combine with notions of family life to achieve this (Young 1987, Radcliffe 1990). These hierarchies do not exist by themselves but work together creating the experience of domestic work. As Gill writes (1994 p. 141):

> Domestic service is rooted in inequality, and its most enduring feature is that servants are drawn from groups considered inferior by those in power. Indeed, various forms of oppression are combined in the occupation. It is considered women's work with few exceptions, and the women who carry out paid household labor invariably represent a subordinate race, class, ethnic group or nationality. These various forms of subordination, however, do not merely exist side by side. They are inter-locking phenomena that are continually tested, challenged, and reformulated in the ongoing encounters of daily life, where they are mutually constituted and constitutive.

In examining the experience of the Indian domestic worker in Colombia and Peru, Rubbo and Taussig (1983) and Radcliffe (1990) have discussed the interaction of gender, class and ethnic hierarchies at household and national levels and how these define the domestic worker and domestic work as inferior many times over. These hierarchies not only denigrate the servant at that point in time; they reproduce expectations for future status. Rubbo and Taussig state (p14)

> .. the relationships between family members and servants form a crucial medium by which the psychological terrain of class and sexist practices is nourished. The interweaving of sexism and authoritarianism is mutually reinforcing, imminent in all household relationships; and the existence of the servant ensures that the household microcosm more fully approximates to the macrocosm of the wider society. Furthermore, the servant functions so as to absorb much of the psychic damage effected by this structure of relationships, and in doing so more firmly perpetuates the root causes.

The impact of being at the bottom of multiple hierarchies is not restricted to paid domestic workers in Latin America. Romero (1988b) has explored the reproduction of class, race and gender hierarchies within the domestic employer/employee

relationship in the United States. Like those studying Latin America, Romero sees the power structure within the paid domestic labour relationship as reproducing the power structures of society as a whole.

Radcliffe (1990) has argued that racism, patriarchy and nationalism are all key influences on the experience of being a domestic worker in Peru and in fact these forms of oppression act as part of a process which actually transforms the identities of paid domestic workers. Other writers have pointed to similar situations in other countries where the experience of the domestic worker is so shaped by racist, sexist and nationalist practices and ideologies that the identity of the domestic worker is reshaped by them and her own view of herself produced by her occupation.

Garcia Castro (1989, p. 122) writes, "What is bought and sold in domestic service is not simply the labor power of an *empleada* or her productive work and energy; it is her identity as a person. This is the most specific feature of domestic service." She comes to this conclusion after examining the situation in Bogotá and the restrictions put on domestic workers in that city. Other writers have also highlighted the importance of this type of work in shaping the identities of employees. Race, class and gender hierarchies are shown to be reproduced within the employee/employer relationship and to be strong forces shaping the experience of the domestic worker. Within the employing family the domestic worker often identifies with the norms of her employer, thus internalising the values of those higher up the hierarchies and so reproducing them. This process is particularly easy in the case of paid domestic workers because of the very close contact they have with their employers and the fact that domestic employees are often young, migrant and uneducated and are always relatively isolated from others in the same position.

These studies from Latin America show the operation of race, class and gender hierarchies in shaping experiences at an individual level and how these inequalities within society can change the ideas and identities of individual domestic workers. Rubbo and Taussig (1983 p. 6) writing on domestic service in Colombia, make this point, "female domestic service is an essential link between the macrostructure of political life and the microstructure of domestic and personal existence which prepares and sustains people for their roles in society." What is known of this process in a British context is limited to Gregson and Lowe's (1994) study of nannies and cleaners and Anderson's (Anderson 1993) study of live-in migrant workers. Neither study was trying to discover whether domestic workers internalised the norms of their employers or to the extent to which the identity of domestic workers was manipulated by race, class and gender inequalities. However, these studies show

that some similarities do exist between the situation of domestic workers in Britain and those in other parts of the world.

There is great scope to examine the relationship between race, class and gender hierarchies and the identity and ideology of domestic workers in the British situation. Writers on domestic labour in other parts of the world have shown this relationship to be strong and dynamic yet varied between places, types of domestic work and the characteristics of the worker and her employer. London may not have a very large population of young live-in migrant domestic workers as some cities do but it does have a sizeable domestic labour force and an ethnically-diverse population. The employment of paid domestic labour in London still marks the intersection between the macro-level structures of race, class and gender in society and the lived experience of those who suffer from, and yet recreate, those inequalities. Paid domestic labour illustrates this process more than other activities both because of the nature of the employment relationship, and because paid domestic labour replaces unpaid reproductive labour, a responsibility that is at the root of women's oppression.

Summary

Paid domestic labour exists within class society and is a product of the myriad inequalities that class divisions produce. Under capitalism there are not only differences between the rich and poor but also between people of different ages and ethnicities. Class divisions created the privatised family and women's domestic burden that itself is the root of women's oppression. These inequalities operate through the reproductive and productive spheres, home and work. They combine together and interact to produce individual experiences. It is within this context of co-existing and mutually constituting hierarchies that paid domestic labour takes place.

Paid domestic labour is different from other jobs because it is both a form of reproduction and a form of productive labour. Paid domestic employment must be seen as domestic labour, one way in which household tasks are done, and therefore, the arrangements within any particular household for doing those tasks will determine the demand for paid domestic labour. The gender ideology that dictates that housework is women's work is also present when that work is done by an employee and this can be important in forming the experience of the domestic worker. Second, paid domestic employment must be seen as a form of work, a job, not quite like any other, but still a job. Therefore, the relations which exist within it are employment relations and class relations; the interests of the employee and her employer do not coincide.

Studies within Latin America, particularly in the Andean countries, have raised interesting and important questions on the shaping of domestic service by hierarchies of ethnicity, gender and class and the potency of the domestic labour relationship as a purveyor of middle-class culture and a transformer of identity. These questions have not been asked in the English context. Very little is known about the relationship between domestic workers and their employers outside service-class employment of nannies and cleaners and the cruelty of some of the super-rich. Studies of the English situation have not deliberately looked at how race and racism affect the experience of domestic workers, despite it being known that black women are disproportionately represented in this sector. Existing studies have not tried to examine how the multiple hierarchies of race, class and gender operate together within the employer/employee relationship in England, and subsequently very little is known about how domestic workers' (and their employers') identities are shaped and how their relationships allow them to reproduce or to challenge these hierarchies.

This study addresses some of these deficiencies by studying how race, class and gender hierarchies operate within paid domestic employment in London and how they impact the experience of the worker. It does this in three ways. First, by examining the nature of the sector: the type of jobs available, their location and the characteristics of the workforce, in an extensive survey of advertised demand. Second, by examining the workings of the paid domestic labour market through in-depth interviews with employment agencies, domestic workers and employers. This reveals the influences that gender and ethnic inequalities have on shaping who enters paid domestic labour. Last, by analysing the nature of the relationship between employers and employees, using in-depth interviews with both groups, and discovering how this relationship is produced by the interaction of race, class and gender inequalities. The following chapter describes, in detail, the methodology used to do this.

Chapter 3

Methodology

The previous chapter argued that the nature of domestic employment can be understood only in terms of the hierarchies which exist in society at large. The shape of the sector, who the workers and employers are, where they come from, where they live, and the experience of domestic employees and their employers can be examined with reference to the inequalities which persist in the wider world. Likewise, the persistence of these inequalities can be understood through an examination of labour processes and an investigation of the benefits to the employment process of these inequalities. The methodology used to study paid domestic labour in London, therefore, needs to be able to both broadly examine the nature of the sector and how this relates to patterns of social inequalities; and also to examine in detail the lives of individuals to discover their interactions with social structures and how these shape their opportunities, motivations, constraints, perceptions and experiences.

This calls for a methodology which is grounded in an understanding of inequality and uses a variety of techniques, both intensive and extensive, to gather the range of information which is necessary. Extensive methods provide information which illuminates broad trends and describes characteristics of a population as a whole, while intensive methods provide more detailed knowledge about a smaller number of cases including information on feelings, experiences and attitudes (Sayer 1984). This study uses a two stage methodology, the first stage being extensive and the second intensive to investigate how structures of race, class and gender affect domestic employment in London.

The first stage of research consists of two extensive surveys. These establish some basic characteristics of the domestic employment sector in contemporary London. The first survey is concerned with the demand for domestic workers as demonstrated by classified advertisements in *The Lady* magazine. The second survey is of employment bureaux in London which specialise in placing domestic workers. These surveys provide some information on the size of the domestic labour force and its distribution within London. They also give insights into the composition of the domestic labour force, such as age and nationality.

The intensive stage of fieldwork involves in-depth interviews with both domestic employees and employers. This stage investigates the processes by which domestic workers came to join the sector, the experiences they have as domestic workers and their feelings about their relationship with employers. It also examines how employers came to take on domestic help and how they feel about their relationships with their employees. How race, class and gender affected these decisions and experiences was a focus of the interviews.

The purpose of this chapter is to set out how this research was carried out: to explain how the methodology was designed and implemented, and how the results arising were analysed. It begins with a discussion of the various research methods used in the social sciences and sets out how methodologies relate to the research questions being asked. This section looks at both quantitative and qualitative methods and how and when they can be combined. This is followed by a detailed explanation of how the research for this project was carried out. This begins with an explanation of the selection of the study area and a description of it. Following this the first stage of research is outlined, which includes the two extensive surveys. After this the chapter explains, in some detail, the design and implementation of the second stage of research, the in-depth interviews. It gives an explanation of how the data were gathered and analysed to produce meaningful results. The chapter closes with a discussion of the limitations of the methods used.

Research Methods

Social science research methods are generally divided into those which are qualitative and those which are quantitative. Quantitative research produces results in terms of number values which are often tested for their statistical significance. Qualitative research, on the other hand, produces data which are expressed in words and commonly reflect the opinions or experiences of informants. Too often these methods are seen as dichotomous, sharing no common ground, but in this study they are combined to increase the range and volume of data available. This section

examines the strengths and weaknesses of both qualitative and quantitative research and concludes with an outline of how they can be usefully combined.

Research methods should reflect theories about the nature of the world and how it is understood. Table 3.1 below summarises the differences between the extremes of quantitative and qualitative research and how these are produced by the ontological assumptions of researchers.

Table 3.1 Quantitative and Qualitative Paradigm Assumptions

Assumption	Question	Quantitative	Qualitative
Ontological Assumption	What is the nature of reality?	Reality is objective and singular. Apart from the researcher	Reality is subjective and multiple as seen by participants in a study.
Epistemological Assumption	What is the relationship of the researcher to the researched?	Researcher is independent from that being researched	Researcher interacts with researched.
Axiological Assumption	What is the role of values?	Value free and unbiased	Value laden and biased.
Rhetorical Assumption	What is the language of research?	Formal, based on set definitions and impersonal voice.	Informal, based on evolving decisions and personal voice.
Methodological Assumption	What is the process of research?	Deductive process, static design, context free. Generalisations lead to predictions. Accurate and reliable through validity and reliability.	Inductive process, emerging design. Patterns and theories developed for understanding. Accurate and reliable through verification.

Based on Cresswell 1994 Table 1.1 p5

This study is based on the assumption that reality is objective and can be understood, but the ability to understand it is mediated by an individual's experiences. A person's view of the world is produced by their position within it; this is true of both the participant and researcher. It is worthwhile, therefore, to try and investigate the nature of reality but it is often more productive to do this by investigating how people experience the world. The interaction of the researcher with participants must also be recognised as an important element of the research. Rapport built up within interviews, positive and negative inter-reactions are all part of the research process and the environment within which data are gathered. The position of the researcher is, therefore, an in-put into research. The conceptualisation of the research question, as outlined in the previous chapters, is the most important control on which data will be gathered and how they will be analysed. Further to this, certain characteristics of the researcher can be influential. In this case, local knowledge was useful in

sampling strategies. The researcher's ethnicity and gender were also important during interviews given the nature of issues being discussed. Empathy and understanding are more quickly established between people who identify with each other. As a white, English woman the researcher may have built up rapport more easily with interviewees with similar characteristics.

Quantitative Methods

Quantitative techniques have been the backbone of human geography research since the late 1950s and, despite much criticism and debate, still comprise the majority of research that is conducted. Quantitative methods are often seen as synonymous with the positivist paradigm, a movement within the social sciences which attempts to replicate the methods used in the natural sciences and tries to search for natural laws in social life. However, many researchers use quantitative methods in a less orthodox way to produce numerical information on broad patterns or trends.

Orthodox positivist research attempts to discover causal links within the social world. By carefully selecting samples which are truly random or fully representative, positivist researchers aim to uncover statistically significant relationships between factors. An example of a study using this approach is French and Lam's (1988) investigation of the statistical relationships between migration patterns of domestic workers and their level of job satisfaction The benefits of this type of research, it is claimed, are verifiable, generalisable results (Cresswell 1994).

However, the positivist project has been much criticised by other groups of social researchers. Criticisms have focused on the futility of trying to reproduce the methods of natural scientists for use with conscious human subjects. The objective position of the researcher which positivists see as necessary to the practice of valid research has been acknowledged as an impossibility by many who see the characteristics of the researcher as an important element in the production of any particular data. The use of quantitative data has also been criticised because of their limited ability to convey meaning to the reader. Results produced rarely provide insights into how subjects feel about their experiences or how processes operate. For example, information gathered about the composition of the domestic workforce of London, the age of workers, or their ethnic background, does not enlighten the researcher as to why those people join the sector or why their involvement in it is significant.

Despite criticisms of the logical positivist method, few would reject quantitative methods outright. Quantitative techniques can be used to provide useful background information for studies which also use qualitative methods. For example, because of

the possibility of surveying large numbers of people using these methods, they can be used to gather information on the size or basic characteristics of a population which is otherwise unknown. Figures can be useful in drawing attention to the size of overlooked or under-represented groups or the importance of little-known phenomena.

Building on the ability of quantitative data to describe population characteristics, this study uses quantitative methods in the first stage of research to investigate the size and distribution of the domestic workforce in London and the age and ethnic background of domestic workers.

Qualitative Methods

Qualitative research is defined by Silverman (1993 : 27) as looking "at a broader reality than just the relationship between variables. It identifies mechanisms or processes by which the relationship between variables is generated." It provides a different type of information from quantitative research. Although the data gathered using qualitative techniques are not normally representative of a larger group, the strength of these methods lies in their flexibility and reflexivity and their focus on investigating the experiences, feeling and motivations of individuals. Qualitative methods can include observation, interviewing, textual analysis of documents and use of audio-visual materials (Cresswell 1994).

Merriam (1988 quoted in Cresswell 1994: 145) lists six assumptions of qualitative research:

> 1. Qualitative researchers are concerned primarily with process rather than outcomes or products.
>
> 2. Qualitative researchers are interested in meaning - how people make sense of their lives, experiences, and their structures of the world.
>
> 3. The qualitative researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis. Data are mediated through this human instrument, rather than through inventories, questionnaires or machines.
>
> 4. Qualitative research involves fieldwork. The researcher physically goes to the people, setting. site. or institution to record or observe behaviour in its natural setting.
>
> 5. Qualitative research is descriptive in that the researcher is interested in the process, meaning and understanding gained through words or pictures.
>
> 6. The process of qualitative research is inductive in that the researcher builds abstractions, concepts, hypotheses and theories from details.

Qualitative techniques, therefore, provide a different type of information that can be used to answer different research questions from quantitative techniques.

The debate between qualitative and quantitative methods is not a new one. In 1953 C. Wright Mills attacked quantitative research as "abstracted empiricism" (quoted in Silverman 1993). Qualitative researchers claim that the strength of their methods lies in their ability to understand and authentically represent the lives of informants. Maykut and Morehouse (1994) argue that it is only by the researcher acting as a human instrument that the complexities of life can be understood: "Human situations and human beings are too complex to be captured by a static one-dimensional instrument. The human instrument is the only data collection instrument which is multifaceted enough to capture the important elements of a person or activity" (Maykut and Morehouse 1994:.27).

Qualitative research relies on researchers using their own knowledge and experiences, their very humanity, to better understand the lives of others. Interactionist sociologists and anthropologists recommend the practice of "indwelling", that is "being at one with the person under investigation...understanding the person's point of view from an empathetic rather than a sympathetic position" (Maykut and Morehouse 1994 p.25). This facilitates a more complete understanding of another's experiences and the meanings they attach to them. Rather than seeking objectivity, qualitative researchers seek always to understand from within situations. By indwelling researchers are able to react to situations, their work is reflexive, with each part produced by what has gone before. This flexibility and ability to react to situations is seen as a strength within qualitative research.

Quantitative methods seek to produce results which are representative whereas qualitative researchers wish to produce authentic accounts (Silverman 1993). Authenticity is assisted by the researcher continually reflecting on results, reassessing research methods, checking results produced with informants and using triangulation (Cresswell 1994). Qualitative researchers seek to represent their informants in the presentation of results by narrative tools such as the use of detailed quotes, cameos and case studies.

Qualitative methods have been extensively used by phenomenologist sociologists and anthropologists to investigate how meaning is attached to events by individuals (Maykut and Morehouse 1994). However, there has been some debate as to the usefulness of qualitative research as a tool for investigating social structures or macro-level phenomena. Silverman (1993) argues that such research can claim to tell one about macro structures by using the analysis of micro-level interaction as a first step. Willis' (1977) study of occupational choice of school pupils, provides a good example of how ethnographic techniques can be used to examine how the structures

which exist, such as the class system, operate to affect the lives of individuals , in this case, working class school leavers.

There are a number of qualitative methods available to social researchers. These include observation, interviewing, analysis of documents and audio-visual materials. They range from the more interactive, such as full participant observation, to the less interactive, such as the analysis of existing documents. Each method has its own advantages and disadvantages and each research problem will be suited to a particular method or combination of methods. Table 3.2 summarises the basic characteristics of the four main qualitative techniques.

Semi-structured interviews are used in this study and have been used very successfully by large numbers of social scientists including many of those studying paid domestic workers (see for example Glenn 1981; Raghuram 1993; Gregson and Lowe 1994). Interviews allow thoughts and feelings about domestic employment to be expressed as well as the processes which create a domestic labour force to be uncovered. Other methods have also been used. For example, Judith Rollins' (1990) study involved the use of covert participant observation to study the life of a domestic worker. She posed as a domestic employee and worked for ten employers. This research gave a rich insight into the treatment domestic workers receive, Her study was also supported by interviews with 20 black domestic workers who were able to help her understand how and why they entered the sector. Participant observation could not reveal how people of a different ethnic group experienced paid domestic labour differently.

The range of qualitative techniques enables one to understand processes in the social world, how people are in the situations they are. These techniques uncover the thoughts and feelings of people about the world they live in and allow researchers to produce authentic accounts of these individual experiences.

Table 3.2 Qualitative Data Collection Techniques

Type	Options	Advantages	Disadvantages
Observations	Complete covert participant	Researcher has first hand experience	Ethically questionable
	Observer as participant	Researcher can record events as they occur	Data may be observed that cannot be used.
	Participant as observer	Unusual aspects can be noticed	Needs well developed observational skills
	Complete observer	Useful on studying topics that informants don't want to discuss	May not get rapport, may not understand what is observed.
Interviews	Unstructured	Allows the themes most important to interviewee to emerge	Information gained may be difficult to analyse
	Semi-structured	Allows interviewer to cover a range of predetermined subjects	Interviewer has to be flexible, may not touch on important subjects.
	Structured	Allows interviewer to control what information is gained.	May be too limited to discover informants thoughts or feelings.
Documents	Public (such as newspapers, minutes of meetings)	Enables researcher to obtain the words of informants.	May be restricted or protected.
	Private (letters, diaries)	Unobtrusive method of collecting data.	May be inaccurate or incomplete.
Audio-visual materials	Photographs, videotapes, art objects, film.	Unobtrusive method of collecting data which allows informants to "share their reality."	May be difficult to analyse and may be inaccessible.

Source: Cresswell 1994, Maykut and Morehouse 1994.

Multimethod Research

The differing strengths and weaknesses of qualitative and quantitative approaches have prompted some researchers to advocate combining both to diminish the limitations intrinsic to each. As Silverman (1993: 22) states, "For, of course, there are no principled grounds to be either qualitative or quantitative in approach. It all depends on what you are trying to do. Indeed, often one will want to combine both approaches." Combining different methods has a long history in social science with the first multimethod studies in psychology dating from 1959 (Cresswell 1994). Researchers have chosen to combine qualitative and quantitative methods to exploit

their different strengths and weaknesses (Patton 1990). In arguing for "cosmopolitan research strategies," Brewer (1989 p.16-17) states,

> Social science methods should not be treated as mutually exclusive alternatives among which we must chose and then passively pay the costs of our choices. Our individual methods may be flawed, but fortunately the flaws in each are not identical. A diversity of imperfection allows us to combine methods not only to gain their individual strengths but also to compensate for their particular faults and limitations.

Cresswell (1994 p.175) offers five reasons to adopt a multi-method approach:

> 1. triangulation, in the classic sense of seeking convergence results,
> 2. complementary, in that overlapping and different facets of a phenomenon may emerge,
> 3. developmentally, wherein the first method is used sequentially to help inform the second method,
> 4. initiation, wherein contradictions and fresh perspectives emerge,
> 5. expansion, wherein the mixed methods add scope and breadth to a study.

This study uses mixed methods for a combination of these reasons, notably triangulation, developmentally and for expansion. The use of an initial extensive survey followed by intensive interviewing increased the scope of the study by allowing the investigation of the extent of domestic employment in London and the study of experiences of individuals involved in the sector. The first stage of research provided information necessary for the second stage and therefore, the developmental nature of the combination can be seen as important. Last, the mixture of methods used allowed for the triangulation of results: interview data from employers, employees and agencies could be compared. Triangulation involves the use of more than one data source, researcher, theory or method to investigate the same question (Patton 1990). Brewer (1989) explains that triangulation, by using various measures, exposes the flaws and strengths of all. It provides more reliable results because they can be confirmed in a variety of ways and can be more confidently reported.

Despite some debate as to whether multimethod approaches are suitable because of the links between philosophy and method (Cresswell 1994) multimethod research is becoming increasingly popular with social researchers. It has been found that researchers combining methods can often do so within the same paradigm generally because different methods are used to answer different questions or because the status of the methods are not equal (Greene 1991 quoted in Cresswell 1994). In this study qualitative methods are dominant with a quantitative procedure used to answer a specific need of the study. The following sections explain how this approach was carried out and how data gathered from both methods were analysed. It begins with the extensive survey and then goes on to detail the intensive interviewing.

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Stage 1 - Extensive Surveys

Maykut and Morehouse (1994) recommend that research design be "emergent", that is each stage of research builds on the findings of previous ones. The methods used should be flexible enough to the changing needs of the research project. The first extensive stage of research in this study was necessary to provide information from which the second, intensive stage could draw. So little is known about paid domestic work in Britain that an extensive survey of the sector was essential as a method of gathering quite basic information such as the size of the sector, what jobs are most important in which areas and which groups of people are involved as employers and employees.

The aim of this stage of fieldwork was to gather information on the size, distribution and demographic characteristics of the domestic labour force. This was fulfilled with the use of two methods, an analysis of classified advertisements placed in *The Lady* magazine and a questionnaire survey of domestic employment agencies. *The Lady* magazine is the most important single source of advertisements for full-time domestic jobs; it covers the whole country and includes advertisements for a range of domestic occupations. Employment agencies are also very important in facilitating paid domestic employment. Agencies are in contact with large numbers of domestic employers and employees and are a source of expertise on the paid domestic labour market. Other methods, such as a large scale survey of the general population were rejected because of the hidden nature of the group being targeted and the likelihood that response rates would be extremely low. Analysis of classified advertisements from other publications, such as local papers, was unfeasible because of the large number of different publications covering the London area. The methods chosen do not cover the entirety of advertised demand for paid domestic labour in London and significantly exclude most part-time domestic workers. Advertisements placed in local papers, shop windows, or recruitment through informal networks was not included in the survey and these would include almost all advertising for cleaners.

The Study Area

London was specifically chosen as the study area because of its structural importance within the British economy and the particular pattern of income polarisation that its local economy creates. The 1991 census showed that within Britain as a whole 222,930 people were employed in domestic service and domestic childcare occupations (Standard Occupational Classifications 659 and 670). Of these 30,270, or nearly 14 per cent, worked in the London boroughs. Gregson and Lowe (1994) also identified London as having the highest rates of domestic employment in the

country. They argued that it had different patterns of domestic employment from other areas, with a bias towards the 'top-end' of the spectrum as larger numbers of people are employed as butlers, valets, chauffeurs and housekeepers. Gregson and Lowe suggested that London was particularly suitable for further study as the patterns they found in their study of Reading and Newcastle were different from those seen in London.

London may be unusual when compared to the rest of Britain but it may be more typical of a "global city" (Sassen 1991), with vast inequalities in income, growth in highly paid specialist business services and increasing numbers of people in low paid service jobs (Allen and Henry 1995). Throughout Britain the 1980s saw a widening of the divide between those on the highest and lowest incomes. Between 1979 and 1991 the real disposable incomes of the richest tenth of the population increased by 62 per cent while the poorest one tenth saw their incomes fall by 17 per cent in real terms (Pond 1995). Within London polarisation was even more pronounced during this period, as Hamnett (1995 p.9) argues "whereas the inter-decile ratio between the incomes of the lowest and the highest decile in London and the UK was very similar in 1978-80 at 3.85 and 3.75 respectively, the ratios had risen to 8.17 and 5.94 in 1989-91. In London the inter-decile ratio had more than doubled within a decade." The average salary of the top one per cent of earners in London and the south east in 1991 was £164,000 while that of the bottom 50 per cent in work was £7,994 (Pond 1995). On top of this, almost two million people are classified as economically inactive, half of these claiming income support (Association of London Authorities 1995).

Sassen (1991) has argued that polarisation has been a feature of all global cities during the 1980s and is a product of the growth of the service sector, particularly advanced business services. The well-paid jobs created by this growth create demand for personal services and thus poorly paid service sector jobs. Hamnett (1995) has argued that in London inequality between the high paid and the low paid is not as important as the difference between those in work and those out of work. He argues that in Europe the existence of welfare states has modified the pattern of income polarisation. However, Gregson and Lowe (1994) have demonstrated that benefit dependency is an important factor in women's decision to enter paid domestic employment. The informal nature of some parts of this sector make it attractive to women in benefit dependent households who would lose out financially by taking formal sector jobs. The growth of low paid jobs and benefit dependency should not be seen as mutually exclusive. Informal employment may rely on benefits to subsidise low pay. Paid domestic employment can be seen to be influenced both by

an increase in demand for personal services, as argued by Sassen, and by high levels of benefit dependency; clearly these conditions are met in London.

The area within the M25 was chosen for the first stage of research rather than the London boroughs area, London postcodes or London phone area as this was seen to be a more realistic delimitation of the functional area. All postcode districts which fell wholly within the M25 were included (see Figure 1.1); thus the study area corresponds roughly to the area within London's greenbelt. This is a relatively contiguous urban area within which people will generally both live and work.

Analysis of Census Data

Data from the 1991 census were analysed to uncover the distribution of paid domestic labour within the London boroughs. Two Standard Occupational Classifications (SOCs) used in the 1991 census include people involved in paid domestic work. These are SOC 659 "Other childcare and related occupations," that includes nannies, mothers' helps and au pairs and SOC 670 "Domestic housekeepers and related occupations," that covers housekeepers, cooks, butlers and the like.

Data on employment in each of these categories by borough of workplace were obtained from the London Research Centre (LRC). Detailed information of this kind is not published by the Office of Population and Census Statistics (OPCS) but can be ordered as special tables by interested parties. LRC commission special tables on many variables concerning London's population and then sell some of the data on to other researchers. The cost of buying in data that has been specially commissioned in this way precludes analysis at a smaller geographical scale such as ward or enumeration district as the cost of data reflects the volume of any table.

Census data on domestic employment are useful in showing the distribution of domestic workers within London and can also be easily compared with other census data. The rate of domestic employment by borough was mapped as were rates of female economic activity, the proportion of households with children under five years old and rates of employment in professional and managerial occupations. Maps allow quick visual comparison of these factors. Similarity between the maps of paid domestic employment and those of professional and managerial workers was also tested statistically using Spearman's Rank Correlation Co-efficient.

There are some important limitations to the use of census data, particularly for a subject such as this one. First, the census was taken in 1991 and is therefore dated. Second, many domestic workers are employed informally and would not declare their occupation to a census enumerator. This means that the census is an under-count of

domestic employment and will represent those in formal, 'top-end' jobs rather than all domestic workers equally. This will probably have an affect on the distribution of paid domestic employment that is shown by the census. Last, as these data were only available at borough level localised inequalities cannot be discovered. Most London boroughs are large areas including about 80,000 - 100,000 households. There are bound to be differences within them that cannot be seen. In order to combat these problems and to supplement census data on paid domestic employment other methods were used in the extensive survey of domestic employment in London, these were a survey of classified advertisements in *The Lady* magazine, and interviews with employment agencies.

Survey of Advertised Demand

This method was chosen following work by Gregson and Lowe (1994) who successfully used it in their study of paid domestic labour. They counted and mapped advertised demand for domestic workers for the period 1981-1991 and found that during that time over 21,000 advertisements were placed. The study found *The Lady* magazine to be easily the largest, single source of advertised demand for paid domestic labour in England. Gregson and Lowe's study showed a significant variation in demand over time and for this reason it was not thought adequate to use their data five years after the last item was recorded and more than fifteen years after the first advertisements in their survey were placed.

All advertisements for domestic help placed in *The Lady* between April and July 1995 were surveyed. This period was chosen after consultation with the classified section of the magazine who recommended it as the busiest time of year. All those advertisements referring to the London area (either a London postal address or London telephone number) were then selected. The type of labour demanded was classified and the location of demand recorded. Sixteen broad categories of common job were identified (these can be seen in Appendix 1). The location of demand was recorded by postcode. This was found either in a straight-forward manner from a stated address or area, or by tracing the location of the phone number given. This was a relatively circuitous practice and obviously introduces some error as the telephone exchange areas do not coincide cleanly with postcode boundaries. However, every effort was made to match demand to postcode as closely as possible and where errors do occur they will only be of one postcode area; the overall picture would hardly be affected. Some advertisements gave only a post office box address, a work telephone number or a mobile phone number which is not possible to locate. These advertisements were not included in the counting or mapping; this did not

represent a significant problem as they accounted for less than one per cent of the total number of advertisements.

The data gathered were tabulated on a matrix of job title against postcode using the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. This allowed compilation of groups of data to indicate total by job, postcode or by groups of similar job, such as 'child-care based'. The data were then mapped by postcode area using Aldus Freehand software. Maps were produced of demand for all domestic workers, all groups except nannies and groups not involved extensively in child care. These could then also be visually compared with the maps produced of census data. It would have been useful to have compared these more recent findings at post code scale with socio-economic data for the same areas. Such data do exist on subjects such as income and occupation and are up-dated each year. They are produced for use by companies in their marketing strategies. However, although this information is available, because of its commercial uses, it is prohibitively expensive for use in a project of this kind.

Obviously not all paid domestic workers are recruited through *The Lady*, or even through formal advertisements. Local newspapers carry advertisements for domestic workers as do shop windows and other less formal sources. Many domestic workers are found by employers through friends and other such informal networks; this analysis of advertised demand will be a gross underestimate of the size of the sector. Interviews with agencies were used to fill in some of the gaps and particularly to examine parts of the domestic employment sector which were most underrepresented in *Lady* advertisements. Agencies tend to specialise in placing particular groups of domestic workers, such as au pairs, nannies or butlers/housekeepers. Employers of certain groups may be more likely to use an agency to find a domestic worker if they require someone who is coming in from abroad or who has a particular skill set and may be difficult to locate. Part-time domestic workers, such as cleaners and baby-sitters, are most likely to be recruited locally or informally and, therefore, it is the demand for these groups of workers which will be least faithfully represented by the techniques used. However, it is unlikely that the pattern of demand will be affected by this as similar recruitment techniques will be used by employers throughout London and there will be no reason for a bias towards or against particular postcodes. In postcodes with a low level of advertised demand it is likely that the omission of these workers will be more important relatively, if not numerically, than in areas with a much higher level of recorded advertised demand.

Survey of Domestic Employment Agencies

Interviews with agencies were carried out following a survey of agency ads placed in *The Lady* magazine during the same time period as private, classified advertisements

were surveyed. The number of agencies covering the entire London area was counted and their specialisms recorded. An imbalance was noticed between the type of jobs offered by agencies and those in private advertisements. The group which most stood out in this sense was the more exclusive domestic workers. Many agencies advertised jobs for butlers, valets, and chauffeurs, despite their almost complete absence from the private advertisements. Au pair agencies were numerous despite au pairs being only the fourth largest category of workers wanted in the private advertisements. It is logical to assume that au pairs are often recruited by agencies because of the strict rules which control their entry into Britain and their working conditions and the reciprocal arrangements which many au pair agencies have. It is also logical that the highest paid domestic workers are recruited by agencies because their employers can afford the (often large) fees agencies charge. Better off and very mobile employers may also prefer to pay someone else to search for and interview prospective employees for them. Also butlers, valets and housekeepers are considerably less numerous than many other domestic workers and may be difficult to find other than through specialist agencies.

Sample Selection

Thirty-six agencies which served the entire London area were found to advertise regularly in *The Lady* during the study period. Of these, five concentrated exclusively on au pair employment and 11 advertised jobs for housekeepers, butlers and valets, the more exclusive end of the domestic employment spectrum. The remainder placed either nannies, carers or a combination of domestic workers including mothers' helps, au pairs and nannies. The sample for interview was selected purposively rather than randomly. Agencies were selected which represented the parts of the domestic employment spectrum about which least information had been gathered in the survey of classified advertisements. The sample included a disproportionate number of top-end agencies and au pair agencies.

A total of 24 agencies was selected and the purpose of the research project explained in a letter (the letter can be seen in appendix 2); these included all the 'top-end' agencies and all the au pair agencies. The letter was then followed by a telephone call to arrange an interview. Each week a number of agencies were telephoned until three interviews were arranged. The interviews were carried out and the following week another three interviews were arranged. This was continued until the interviews were revealing no new information. This is a common sampling strategy used with a purposive sample (Maykut and Morehouse 1994). Interviews are carried out until either there is a saturation of information or the return on each interview has noticeably diminished. All of the agencies interviewed gave very similar answers to

questions and it was, therefore, assumed that the sample was large enough. In this case nine agencies were interviewed, four of these were 'top-end', three were au-pair agencies and two were placing people in a mixture of jobs. A large number of agencies was written to originally in case a larger sample was needed and because a number of agencies were unwilling or unable to help. Of the 24 agencies written to, four said they were too busy to help, one had closed down and four were unreachable by phone. Although the sample appears to be small it included a quarter of all the agencies advertising in The Lady and half the agencies placing au pairs or 'top-end' domestic workers.

Five of the nine agencies were interviewed face-to -face and four were interviewed over the telephone as they were not prepared to be interviewed in person. The same semi-structured interview format was used for both groups but face-to-face interviews tended to be longer (40 - 60 minutes against 15-25 minutes over the 'phone). Although useful information was achieved from all interviews, those conducted face-to-face were more fruitful because the agency had typically set time aside for the interview and a better rapport was established.

Interview Design

Interviews with agencies served a dual purpose and the design of the interview schedule reflected this. In the first place they provided additional quantitative information on the size and distribution of the domestic workforce of London; and, second, they served as a form of triangulation with information provided by employers and employees. Interviews were chosen as the method for surveying employment agencies because the type of qualitative information being asked for was better gathered this way. As rapport was built up with the interviewees they often raised points which had not been anticipated; these could be followed up and therefore more information was gathered. The quantitative questions which were asked may have been better suited to a postal questionnaire as agencies were often unable to give precise answers on the spot. However, this lack of precision was felt to be more than compensated for by the increased amount of qualitative information that was gathered.

The questions asked of agencies fell into two groups: factual questions about how many domestic workers are placed, where they work and what gender, age and ethnicity those placed are, and opinion questions on what employers are looking for in an employee and vice versa. It was the second group of questions that elicited long responses from agencies and allowed a discussion of quite general characteristics of the sector. Interesting points raised by one interviewee were then included as prompts in the interview schedule used in subsequent interviews. In this

way it was possible to increase the amount of information being gathered all the time and to check if the same issues were important to a number of agencies. The final interview schedule is included in appendix 3. An interview schedule was filled in during each interview and interviews with agencies were not taped.

Agencies are a good source of information as not only do they meet a large number of people from both groups but they are also likely to be given accurate information as it is in the interests of both the worker and employer to get the situation or employee which will suit them best. Also, as agencies were interviewed about the habits of other people rather than themselves, it is not likely they felt any need for concealment when interviewed. It was anticipated that agencies would feel reluctant to be interviewed because of press attention given to the conditions of some domestic workers. However, this was found to be very far from the case and most agencies were extremely helpful; only four of those approached refused to be interviewed. The only suspicion expressed was that information was being gathered for use by rival agencies.

Analysis of Results

The analysis of the qualitative and quantitative results of the agency survey was carried out separately. Quantitative data for each of the interviews were compiled to produce tables of the numbers of domestic workers being placed, where they were working, their average ages, common ethnic background and pay. Qualitative data were sorted into a matrix by question and interview so responses could be compared and the important themes drawn out. Qualitative data were examined after each interview so analysis of data was simultaneous with data gathering.

Quantitative data were compiled after all the interviews were completed and tables drawn up which corresponded to the questions asked. An example of one such table can be seen in appendix 4. Many of the responses given had been approximate so the data had to be cleaned in order to be tabulated. Where agencies had answered a "how many" question, such as "how many housekeepers have you placed this year?" with a range, such as "25-30" the middle value was taken. Where answers were given in terms of "about 25" that figure was used. Where a question such as "How old are the housekeepers you are placing?" was answered with a range the range was included in tables. The answers of all the agency interviews were then compiled into a table for each question. Where appropriate the answers were summed to provide a total number or averaged out to provide a typical answer.

Answers to the second group of questions were compiled onto a large matrix after each interview as it was important for this part of the research that analysis was

simultaneous with interviewing (Cresswell 1994). The matrix compared all the qualitative information given in interviews. Each interview was allocated a row in the matrix and then columns corresponded to coded headings for each question asked. As the number of interviews increased the information on the matrix became more detailed and more complicated. The answers each interviewee had given to a question were recorded and any new points arising were highlighted. Where a respondent had raised a particularly interesting point which was then added as a prompt on the interview schedule, this was differently highlighted and a new column was added to the matrix so all subsequent interviews would be analysed for information on that point too. Previous interviews were also checked in case anything had been said on the matter, maybe under a different question, which had not been noticed initially. Any quotes which had been recorded during the interview were added to the appropriate place on the matrix and again highlighted so they could be easily identified. In this way it was ensured that all the information gathered during the interviewing was analysed and recorded in such a way that it would still be easy to understand even when the interviews could not be clearly recalled. The matrix also allowed for an efficient browsing of information so results from the agency survey could be compared with what was said by employers and employees, even though different questions were asked to each group. This method also allowed for information to be coded both 'top-down' and 'bottom-up.' The first columns corresponded to questions asked and themes originally identified as important. The latter columns were a product of issues arising in the interviews that had not been pre-empted. Most importantly, the extent of the ethnic segregation of the domestic workforce emerged during interviews with agencies and had not been anticipated. These interviews drew attention to the fact that different ethnic groups entered different occupations within the sector. This informed the interviews with employers and employees during the intensive stage of research.

Stage 2 - Intensive Surveys

The second stage of research involved carrying out in-depth interviews with a sample of domestic workers and employers in north-west London. The purpose of this stage was to look in detail at why people become domestic workers or employ paid domestic workers and to see how domestic employers and employees interact. This allowed the investigation of how paid domestic work relates to existing social structures, how the processes which create the paid domestic workforce in its current shape work and how those involved feel about paid domestic work and how they behave.

An area focused on NW3, Hampstead, was selected as this postcode was shown in the first stage to have the highest rates of demand for paid domestic workers and a great variety of domestic employment. Initially only the NW3 area was selected but due to problems with sampling from such a restricted area the adjoining postcodes were also included. These are NW1 (Camden), NW2 (Cricklewood), NW5 (Highgate), NW6 (West Hampstead), NW8 (St John's Wood), NW11 (Golders Green) and N6 (Highgate). A single area of London was chosen to facilitate sampling and to enhance the researcher's ability to know the area within which studied behaviour takes place.

The notion of outcropping in social science research is taken from the geological term. It refers to the practice of studying populations where they congregate; statistically speaking this congregation is a spatial outcrop. This sampling strategy may be problematic because it ignores population members who are socially isolated or share some other important characteristic. As a method for studying domestic workers or employers it is also problematic as there are few places where these groups congregate together. Some nannies meet at playgroups, nursery schools or at the school gate, and au pairs will meet each other at English classes but there are no places that employers meet together as employers. For this reason an area which was known to have high rates of domestic employment was selected as a study area. The NW3 area can be seen as a spatial outcrop of domestic employment within London.

Interview Design

Semi-structured interviews were used rather than more fully structured or unstructured ones because it was felt that the use of an interview guide gave the most suitable balance between flexibility and control over what was talked about. The purpose of this stage of research was to gather information on two issues: how people came to be employers or employees; and how they now behaved and three themes, race, class and gender. It was thought necessary to use an interview structure that would ensure all the necessary topics were covered. However, a fully structured interview was considered inappropriate for use with either group as it was desirable that informants were able to discuss topics not anticipated on the interview guide (Silverman 1993; Cresswell 1994). It is also easier to build up rapport with interviewees when a less structured format is used. As rapport develops interviewees become happier to divulge personal or sensitive information and this is an important element of successful interviewing bearing in mind the nature of the topic being researched.

Lee (1993) outlines some of the advantages of using interviews when talking to people about topics that may be sensitive. He argues that the techniques which are

used to find out about people's lives go back to the fifteenth century when religious confessors had manuals to teach them how to find out about people's sins. The basis of a successful confession, both then and now, is that the confessor is given privacy and anonymity in a non-censorious atmosphere which creates a framework of trust. In-depth, one to one, interviewing is the best way to create this type of atmosphere.

There are problems associated with in-depth interviewing but Lee (1993) argues that if the researcher is aware of these they can be used to advantage. First, interviewees may identify with researchers due to some sort of similarity, such as social class, and may then give answers that it is assumed the researcher wants to hear. Or similarly, because of identification, the interviewer may accord undue prominence to particular features of the respondent's performance . Lee argues that issues such as these should be treated as data that can be managed and not as a nuisance. Second, power between the interviewer and interviewee is usually uneven because the interviewer hears without revealing anything in return and the interviewee may be made personally vulnerable by what is revealed. Some feminist researchers have argued that women interviewing other women should build on the shared, structurally subordinate position of women, to create rapport with their interviewees and carry out their research in a way which is reciprocal and based on a process of "mutual self-revelation" (Lee 1993 p.108). However such calls ignore that not all women are equal, even if they share the experience of subordination of women. The research being carried out is for the immediate benefit of the researcher not the respondent and this inequality cannot be ignored. Wise (1987 quoted in Lee 1993 p.109) has argued that feminists may be using reciprocity and self-revelation strategically to ingratiate or increase the social indebtedness of the other. The interview situation involves a complex mix of both structural inequalities and personal characteristics. The successful interviewer has to be sensitive to these in order to obtain the greatest amount of useful data without exploiting the respondent. Last, there can be problems associated with a research design that involves interviewing people who know each other, as this project does. Lee (1993) uses the example of partners who may collude to withhold information or try to gain confidential information from the interviewer. If a conflict exists between the partners the interviewer may benefit as the conflict leads to increased disclosure. Lee argues that the problems are increased when the same interviewer talks to both partners as this can produce embarrassment or over-intensity. If it is not possible to use two or more interviewers, it is recommended that interviews are one-off events. Respondents are happier to disclose personal details to people that they are not going to see again.

In light of these issues, which are pertinent to the study of paid domestic workers and their employers, interview guides were designed to reduce the threatening nature of questions asked while still covering important and sensitive topics (these can be seen in appendix 3). A mixture of open-ended, probing questions and more factual, less intrusive ones was included in both. The factual questions could be used to start the interview and get the interviewee used to talking or could be used mid-interview if the interviewee became hesitant about providing more information. Most questions were designed so that respondents could give as much or as little information as they felt comfortable with, but they were encouraged to expand on points at all times. A non-confrontational, non-judgmental attitude was taken and interviewees' attitudes or perceptions were neither challenged nor reinforced.

All interviews were carried out by the same researcher and all were one-offs. They were carried out in the respondents' homes or place of work at a time suggested by them as most convenient. Interviews took anything from 25 minutes to three hours depending on how happy respondents were to give information. Generally interviews were with one employer or one employee but at times other members of the interviewee's family were present and contributed. All interviews were taped as this was seen as the most efficient method of accurately recording everything that was said (Bernard 1994). All interviewees were asked if they minded a tape recorder being used.

Sample Selection

For a social scientist sampling is the selection of people, places or activities suitable for study. The aim of sampling is to select elements for study in a way which adequately represents the population (Lee 1993). When qualitative methods such as in-depth interviewing are used only a small number of respondents may be needed. The sample can be selected purposively rather than randomly: that is the sample is deliberately selected to represent certain aspects of the population. When hidden, rare or deviant populations are being studied sampling can prove problematic and creative sampling strategies may have to be introduced.

Intensive sampling aims to increase understanding rather than generalisability. Maykut and Morehouse (1994) suggest a number of ways in which a purposive sample can be selected to fulfil this aim. A researcher may choose to include: extreme cases, typical cases, critical cases or the maximum variation in the range of experience. This type of sampling means that the researcher will deliberately include elements which are known to be different from one another.

These suggestions assume that the total population, or relevant characteristics of the population, is known and available to sample from. For researchers studying hidden populations, as in this study of domestic workers and employers, sampling strategies may have to focus on finding the population first. Lee (1993) suggests seven strategies for sampling rare or hidden populations. These are: list sampling, multi-purposing, screening, networking, outcropping, advertising and servicing. Outcropping, screening and networking were all used to identify a sample for this study.

Outcropping is the identification of a geographical concentration of the researched population. This place is then used to locate possible subjects. As explained above, NW3 was identified as a spatial outcrop of employers during the first stage of research. The high level of demand that appeared to exist within the area was taken as an indication that more people in Hampstead would be possible members of a sample than in other parts of London. Efforts were then focused into this small area to increase the likelihood of recruiting interviewees.

Screening involves the systematic canvassing of a particular location in order to identify members of the requisite population. This can be done by means of the distribution of a questionnaire or letter by hand or by post. This method is labour-intensive and can produce a very limited response rate; it is unrealistic to carry it out over an extended area. Hundreds of screening questionnaires may be necessary to yield less than fifty interviewees.

For this study it was decided that a sample of ten pairs of employers and employees was appropriate. In order to recruit a sample this size many more households had to be contacted. Letters were sent to 105 households in central NW3 asking if they had paid domestic help and if they were willing to be interviewed for the study (see appendix 2). The streets targeted were selected from the electoral role using knowledge about the local area. These streets were on the side of Hampstead Heath where house values are very high and there is a predominance of houses rather than flats. Streets which had named houses were also selected over those with numbers as these tend to be larger. It was assumed that better-off people were more likely to employ domestic help and that those living in houses were more likely to have families and therefore need domestic help. These streets would therefore have a potentially higher response rate.

Letters were also circulated by one school in the study area (see appendix 2). Year 8 students were asked to take a letter to their parents and return the tear off slip to the year head if their family could help. Year 8 was selected as it is a pre-exam year and

therefore less likely to have other paperwork to worry about but the children are old enough to successfully take the letter home and return the slip. One year was selected to avoid duplicate letters going home with siblings and because, for the school, overseeing the distribution of more than 200 letters was unfeasible. All secondary schools in the study area which are listed in the yellow pages were approached and asked if they would be prepared to help. A letter was sent to the year 8 head explaining the research subject and asking for their co-operation and this was followed by a telephone call. Only one school was able to help. Some schools were not able to help because the year head thought the number of employing families would be negligible and others were not prepared to help. Unfortunately no private sector schools were prepared to help and this probably reduced the proportion of the population which was contacted in this way. The 210 letters circulated in this way yielded four replies. The reply slips were collected from the Year 8 head and the respondents contacted by 'phone.

Networking, also known as snowballing, involves asking respondents to supply information about people they know who are also part of the population. For many studies of deviant or rare populations, this is the only way a sample can be established but it will generally yield respondents from only a limited section of the population (Lee 1993). All respondents contacted using the first two methods were asked if they would be able to suggest any friends or colleagues who would be prepared to be interviewed. They were then supplied with letters and prepaid envelopes to distribute to other employers that they knew (see appendix 2). These contacts could then return the reply slip or not as they desired without revealing this choice. Employees were also asked if they knew other people employed in paid domestic work who would be prepared to be interviewed. Forty letters were given to employers in this way and no replies were received. Two of the au pairs interviewed had friends who were also au pairs and who were contacted and interviewed.

All sampling strategies focused on discovering domestic employers rather than employees as the employers are less well hidden. Many domestic workers are working illegally and therefore would not be prepared to admit to a stranger that they were so employed. A letter sent to their house or home with their children would be very unlikely to elicit a response. Many domestic workers are young women without children and living away from their families. They therefore have fewer ties into the local community and would be harder to find through informal networks. This would be particularly true for those that live in. It would be impossible to locate live-in domestic workers by sending screening letters. Names would be unlikely to appear on the electoral role, particularly for non-British domestic workers, and a letter

addressed to "The Domestic Worker" would be thrown away by anyone who did not identify with that title. Similarly the use of more specific titles such as "The Au Pair" would be discarded by other domestic workers. Last, domestic work is generally perceived to be low status work and some domestic workers would not care to identify themselves as such for that reason even if none of the other reasons precluded it. Employers were asked to inquire if their employee would be prepared to be interviewed and contact was made with most employees this way. Some employers were not prepared to facilitate their employee being interviewed and some employees were not prepared to be interviewed.

The Sample

The methods outlined were used to try and find the sample with the maximum variation of characteristics and experiences. Domestic workers involved in a number of different positions were sought as well as employers and employees from a variety of different backgrounds. In total 8 domestic workers were interviewed and 13 employers. Of these five were pairs, that is each other's employer or employee. Table 3.3 below shows the distribution of positions covered.

Table 3.3 Types of Paid Domestic Work Represented in Interview Sample

Job Title	Number of Employees interviewed	Number of Employers interviewed
Cleaner	2	12
Au Pair	4	2
Childcarer	1	1
Nanny	1	1

A smaller number of domestic employees were interviewed than employers but this group was still varied in terms of the jobs they performed, the number of hours worked, their age and nationality. Table 3.4 summarises some information about the sample of employees.

Table 3.4 Demographic Characteristics of Employees Interviewed

Employee	Job	Hours Worked* per week	Gender	Nationality
Employee 1	Cleaner	52(3)	Female	Filipina
Employee 2	Au pair	35	Female	Swedish
Employee 3	Au pair	35	Female	Swedish
Employee 4	Au pair	25	Female	Spanish
Employee 5	Au pair	30	Female	Spanish
Employee 6	Childcarer	18(10)	Female	German
Employee 7	Cleaner	30	Female	British
Employee 8	Nanny	56(44)	Female	British

*Hours worked includes those done in all jobs that the interviewee has, not just in paid domestic work. Figures in brackets indicate the number of hours worked in paid domestic labour.

The sample included employers living in a number of different household types. These ranged between two-parent families with children, retired people and single people of working age. Many employers interviewed employed more than one domestic worker and many of the employers had employed different types of help in the past. This increases the range of experiences that interviews covered. Table 3.5 below summarises demographic information about the employer sample.

Table 3.5 Household Composition and Help Employed by Employers Interviewed.

Employer	Household composition	Ethnic details*	Adults' occupations	Help employed
Employer 1	2 (married couple) adults, 3 children aged 6 - 13	English, mixed race.	Both youth workers	**Employee 4 - Au pair**
Employer 2	2 adults (married couple) , 2 children aged 10 and 13	English, white	University lecturer Part time charity advisor	**Employee 6- Childcarer** Cleaner
Employer 3	4 adults (4 males)	English, white	4 accountants	Cleaner
Employer 4	2 adults (married couple)	English, white	Both retired	Cleaner
Employer 5	2 adults (married couple), 3 children aged 15 - 19	English, white	Part-time researcher Businessman	Cleaner
Employer 6	1 adult (female)	English, white	Executive	Cleaner
Employer 7	2 adults (married couple), 2 children aged 2 and 4	English mother, Scots father, white.	Employment consultant Business development manager	**Employee 8 - Nanny** Cleaner
Employer 8	2 adults (married couple), 2 children aged 11 and 13	American, white, Jewish.	Voluntary birthing advisor NGO fund-raiser	**Employee 7 -Cleaner**
Employer 9	1 adult (male)	English, white	Barrister	Cleaner
Employer 10	2 adults (married couple), two children, aged 7 and 3	English, white, Jewish	Part-time receptionist Doctor	**Employee 2- Au pair** Cleaner
Employer 11	2 adults (married couple), 2 children aged 10 and 15	English, white.	Housewife Advertising executive	Cleaner
Employer 12	2 (married couple) adults	English woman, Greek man, white.	Both retired	Cleaner
Employer 13	1 adult (female)	English, white.	Semi-retired therapist	**Employee 1- Cleaner**

* Ethnic details given are those given by interviewees as being important. Hence, for example, religion is included when it was brought up by employers.

However they were contacted, employers were asked to identify themselves. The member of the household interviewed was, therefore, decided by the employers. Only one employing family, Employer 1, asked who should be interviewed. Table

3.6 shows which household members were interviewed. These are the people who identified themselves as the employer of paid domestic labour.

Table 3.6 Employing Household Members Interviewed

	Household member interviewed
Employer 1	Both parents and 2 eldest children, mostly mother.
Employer 2	Mother
Employer 3	One member
Employer 4	Primarily the woman, man joined in later
Employer 5	Mother
Employer 6	One-person household
Employer 7	Mother
Employer 8	Mother
Employer 9	One-person household
Employer 10	Mother
Employer 11	Mother
Employer 12	The woman
Employer 13	One-person household

This sample was considered to be large enough because of the variety of different employment arrangements and household types covered. A smaller sample would still have yielded useful information but would not have uncovered the range of employment arrangements or experiences. It was important that both groups were diverse so that the impacts of differences such as ethnicity, household form, gender and work patterns could be studied. A smaller sample may have made this difficult or impossible. The target sample size was ten pairs but this proved unrealisable. The practical problems associated with the recruitment of respondents precluded the use of a sample consisting purely of pairs. The final sample included more employers than employees and only five pairs. The effect of this is that more information was gathered about employers' motivations and experiences and it was only possible in five cases to hear two different views of the same event.

Analysis of In-Depth Interviews

The purpose of analysis is to take apart a mass of information and rebuild it into a larger, consolidated picture (Cresswell 1994). It is the process of analysis which

turns a number of separate 'stories' into data about a certain subject. Bernard (1994, p.360) argues that "Qualitative analysis ... is the search for patterns in data and for ideas that help explain the existence of those patterns." Wolcott (1994) suggests that analysis can be aided by techniques such as identifying regular patterns, comparing cases with each other and comparing cases with a standard or existing case. Analysis can also be divided into that which is 'top-down' and that which is 'bottom-up'. The top-down approach involves interrogating the data for themes which have already been identified from the literature or existing theory. The bottom-up approach involves 'listening' for themes which have not been anticipated and seeing which topics emerge as important to informants (Wolcott 1994). Cresswell (1994) emphasises that it is vital to also identify information which is contrary to emerging themes.

Analysis of in-depth interviews was carried out in two stages. The first was simultaneous with data collection and involved the monitoring of interview material so knowledge gained from early interviews could be fed in to stimulate later ones. This began with the transcription of tapes to produce an easily accessible record of what was said. Bernard (1994) suggests that transcription takes six to eight hours for every hour of tape, whereas Silverman (1993) suggests between 20 and 22 hours to record all the nuances of speech if this information is necessary for the project. Either way transcription is slow, laborious and frustrating but it produces a mass of data. An hour long interview typically yielded 8-10,000 words of transcription which then had to be sorted, coded and interpreted.

Interview transcripts were coded and analysed using QSR NUDIST software. This software allows for non-numerical data to be coded into nodes, or headings, that form part of a cascading or tree-like structure. The nodes can be decided in advance or added during coding. NUDIST then generates reports that include all data at a specified node. Interviews were coded into two broad categories of information, that about the labour market and that about the employer/employee relationship. Within these categories were others that related to specific questions that were asked and to the themes of race, class and gender. Coding into pre-existing categories is a 'top-down' approach. Themes that the researcher has chosen control the categorisation of data. Simultaneously a 'bottom-up' approach was also used. New nodes were added to the tree as new themes arose from interviews. As each interview transcript was coded every single line was put into a category. Responses were examined not only for what the interviewee had said in answer to a particular question, but also for themes that interviewees themselves were raising that had not been anticipated. The final coding categories used can be seen in Appendix 5.

The second stage of analysis began after all interviews had been carried out, transcribed and coded. NUDIST reports were generated for all nodes. These are compilations of all interview data that has been coded under a particular heading, for example, "labour market/employers/looking" was the category under which all quotes relating to how employers actually looked for domestic help was coded, it is under the main category "labour market" and on the branch "employers". These reports were then examined and responses of the different interviewees compared. Similarities between responses were noted, as was the extent of divergence between replies. In analysing each node particular attention was paid to the themes of race, class and gender. Interview data were also specifically coded into nodes with these headings but these themes were analysed within other categories as well. For example, in analysing how employers look for domestic workers the range of methods used was noted as was the number of employers using any particular strategy. Employers' comments on why they used these methods were compared and any reference to issues such as the ethnicity of applicants attracted were highlighted.

Finally, after all interview data had been analysed in this way findings were compared with those of other studies of paid domestic employment, most importantly with those that were influential in the design of this project. In this way the attitudes and experiences of employers and employees in the Hampstead area could be compared, not only to those interviewed in other parts of Britain, but also in other parts of the world. This comparison is necessarily partial as different projects have different aims and methodologies. However, it can be enlightening and can enrich the data gained in any individual study.

Conclusions - Limitations to the Methods Used

Social scientists have long realised that what is seen depends upon where one is looking from or how one is looking. The methodologies used to study a problem will produce the results and the conclusions drawn. For this reason the choice of methods is an important part of the research process and should reflect the theoretical underpinnings of the study as well as the nature of the problem being examined. All methods have inherent limitations and for that reason it is often wise to use a combination of methods in any one study.

As this study was interested in processes at work within the domestic employment sector a methodology which could expose those processes was necessary. To this end a qualitative approach was taken for a large part of the study so that the thoughts of those who are involved in paid domestic labour could be uncovered. However, this was inadequate alone; as so little is known about domestic employment in London, an extensive investigation of the sector was necessary as an initial stage.

Even with this combination of methods there were still limitations to the study. In the first place the methods used do not reveal the size of the domestic workforce of London or how it is composed. The extensive survey uncovered only its relative distribution and the lowest limit of its size. Given this limitation, it is impossible for this study to suggest how many people may be affected by the issues raised in later chapters. Second, problems with sampling such a well-hidden population may have affected the quality of the sample interviewed. Due to a lack of information about the total population, it is impossible to reflect on how well the sample interviewed represents the range of the total population of either employers or employees. It is known that certain arrangements within the domestic labour sector were not covered, such as multi staff households and foreign domestic workers who had entered the country with their employers. Both of these situations are numerous within London and would therefore be worthy of study but access to both proved impossible within the time available.

Despite these problems the methods used were effective in gathering a vast amount of new information about paid domestic work in London and how relationships between domestic workers and their employers are mediated by race, class and gender. Although they were far from perfect the methods used were the best available and were suitable for fulfilling the aims of the study.

The following chapters present the results of the fieldwork and discuss what they reveal about the nature of paid domestic work in London. The next chapter deals with results from the extensive survey.

Chapter 4

Demand for Paid Domestic Labour in London

The previous chapter detailed the two stages that were used in this research. This chapter sets out the results of the extensive stage: the analysis of 1991 census data, the survey of advertised demand for paid domestic labour in *The Lady* magazine and amongst employment agencies. This part of the study was included in order to provide background information on the sector. Very little is known about paid domestic labour in London and an extensive survey can provide basic information about the characteristics of a population.

The chapter looks first at 1991 census data on employment of paid domestic labour and demand displayed in classified advertisements in *The Lady* magazine. Analysis of these sources demonstrates that demand for full-time paid domestic labour is focused on providing child-care, with nannies being the group most in demand. However, there is still a large volume of demand for non-childcare related domestic labour and for workers, such as au pairs or mothers' helps, who would not be full-time sole carers. Mapping the location of domestic work, the source of advertisements and the workplace of domestic workers recorded in the census, shows that there is an uneven geography of paid domestic labour in London. Demand is concentrated in central London, the west, along the River Thames and the north-west, particularly around Hampstead Heath. Using these data sources most areas show very little, or no demand. Demand for non-childcare related positions is highly

concentrated in a few boroughs and postcodes in central London and around Hampstead Heath.

Next the chapter examines the results of interviews with nine employment agencies that place paid domestic workers. Agency interviews shed light on who is involved in paid domestic labour and what their working conditions and pay are like. When domestic workers recruited by agencies are taken into account the importance of childcare to the sector diminishes; agencies are placing large numbers of workers in non-childcare related positions. Almost all domestic workers placed by agencies interviewed are immigrants and the ethnicity of domestic employees is an important element of their employability. Employers request people of particular ethnic backgrounds for particular posts. Rates of pay, hours worked and living conditions vary widely between posts. Butlers are the highest paid and best treated domestic workers, often earning over £40,000 p.a. plus self-contained accommodation. Au pairs are at the other end of the scale, earning just £35 p.w. plus room and board.

The Geography of Demand for Paid Domestic Labour

The geography of paid domestic work in London was established using two sources of information. First data on employment from the 1991 census and second advertisements from *The Lady* magazine. Each source has its own strengths and weaknesses. The census is an official measure and this means that a very large sample of the population is included. However, the official nature of this survey may also limit its effectiveness in measuring a sector, such as paid domestic labour, where many workers will not want to record the fact that they are employed. Also, the census is only taken once every ten years and there is evidence that the paid domestic labour sector has grown substantially during the 1990s (Garner 1996). An analysis of the distribution of demand for paid domestic labour, as expressed in classified advertisements in *The Lady* magazine, is used to supplement census data. Although a partial measure of the sector this information can be collected at any point in time and may also include some jobs that will be filled by workers who would not declare their occupation on a census form. Also the relative importance of different types of paid domestic work can be more easily revealed with reference to these classified advertisements than to census data.

Analysis of Census Data

The 1991 census recorded the precise occupation of a 10 per cent sample of the population. These occupations are then grouped into Standard Occupational Classifications (SOCs) that relate to different sectors of the economy. Two SOC units cover those employed in paid domestic work; SOC 659 "Other childcare and

related occupations" that includes nannies, au pairs and mothers' helps but not those involved in childcare outside the home, and SOC 670 "Domestic housekeepers and related occupations" that includes those domestic workers who do not have a childcare role.

In 1991 30,270 people were recorded as working in these two occupational categories in the London boroughs. Table 4.1 below shows a break down of this employment by borough of workplace. Column 4 shows the rate of domestic employment, this is the total number of domestic workers employed in a given borough as a percentage of the number of households in that borough. It is possible that in some cases this could produce an over-count as some households may employ more than one domestic worker and this cannot be detected, therefore more households will appear to employ help than really do. In some boroughs that contain a few, very large households, such as the royal palaces in Westminster and Kensington and Chelsea, this effect may be important. The distribution is uneven, showing a high rate of employment in the City of London and low rates in most other boroughs. In sixteen boroughs less than one per cent of households appeared to employ help in 1991, and only in three boroughs, the City, Westminster and Kensington and Chelsea, did more than two percent of households appear to employ domestic help. However, it is likely that many domestic workers, particularly those employed on an informal, part-time basis would not be measured by the census and it is likely that domestic employment is much more widespread than these figures suggest.

Gregson and Lowe (1994) suggested that demand for paid domestic labour in contemporary Britain can be explained by the increasing number of women working full-time in career-structured jobs. They argue that in households where women bear the burden of reproductive work, the employment of domestic help is a solution to the problems of 'role strain'. This would appear to be supported by thefact that Table 4.1 shows that nearly five times as many people are employed in child care related positions as those who are not. Only two boroughs, Westminster and the City of London have larger numbers of people employed in SOC 670 than in SOC 659.

Maps of the distribution of paid domestic labour within London can be compared with those of other relevant census data. Figure 4.1 shows the rate of employment of all domestic help in 1991 (Column 4 of Table 4.1). Figure 4.2 shows the distribution of economically active females as a percentage of the total population. This map illustrates that there is a geography of women's participation in paid work and women in east London are generally less likely to enter paid work than those in west London. The map of domestic employment shares this characteristic, also showing an east/west divide. There are also some differences, excluding The City, those

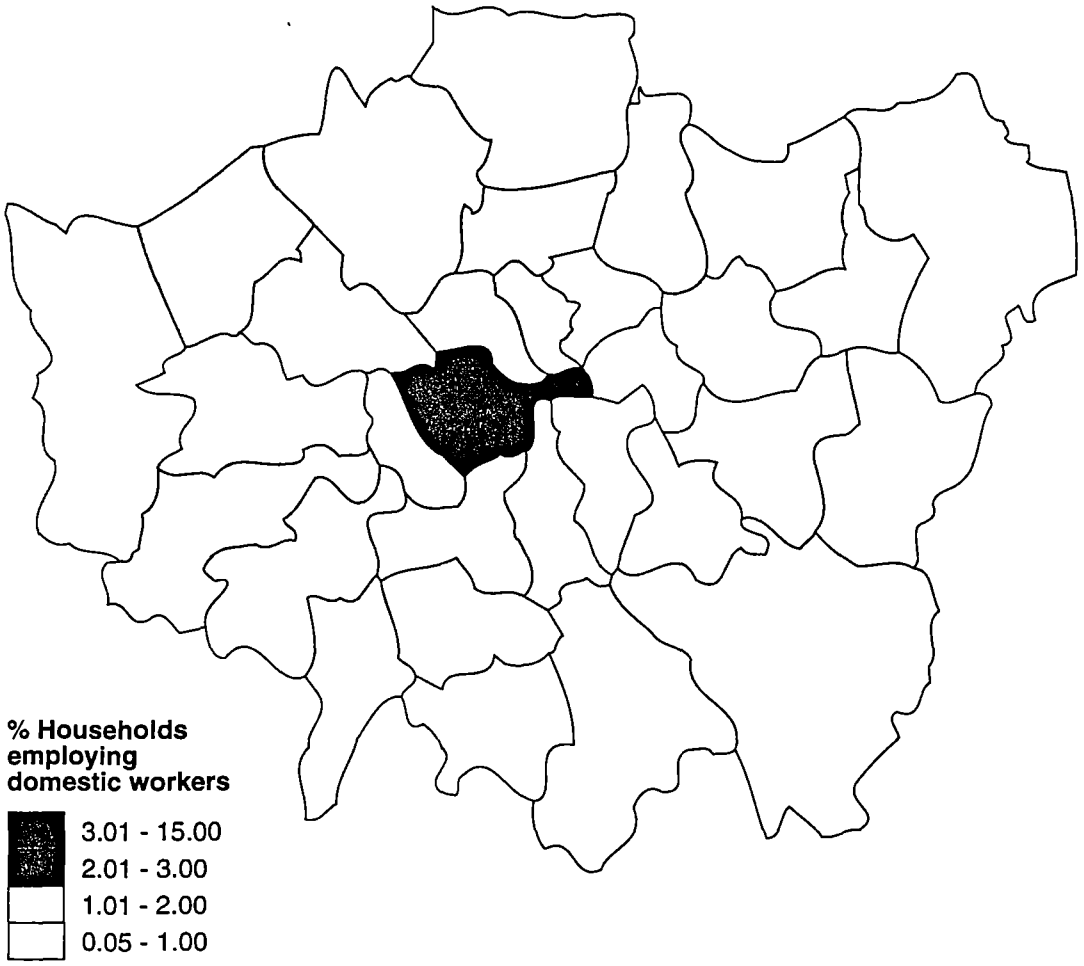
boroughs showing the highest rates of domestic employment are not those that have the highest rates of female economic activity.

Table 4.1 People Working in Paid Domestic Labour in 1991 by London borough of Workplace

Borough	SOC 659 Other childcare and related occupations	SOC 670 Domestic housekeepers and related occupations	SOCs 659+670 Total domestic workers	Total domestic workers as a per centage of households.
City of London	60	260	320	14.75
Camden	900	390	1290	1.61
Hackney	630	80	710	0.94
Hammersmith & Fulham	700	90	790	1.13
Haringey	850	70	920	1.08
Islington	820	50	870	1.17
Kensington & Chelsea	890	850	1740	2.55
Lambeth	830	70	900	0.83
Lewisham	670	70	740	0.75
Newham	450	30	480	0.60
Southwark	680	80	760	0.79
Tower Hamlets	520	50	570	0.91
Wandsworth	1260	170	1430	1.30
Westminster	610	1400	2010	2.42
Barking & Dagenham	480	20	500	0.86
Barnet	1050	350	1400	1.21
Bexley	750	10	760	0.90
Brent	670	100	770	0.82
Bromley	1130	110	1240	1.04
Croydon	1190	60	1250	1.00
Ealing	970	80	1050	0.97
Enfield	880	60	940	0.92
Greenwich	910	30	940	1.11
Harrow	870	80	950	1.26
Havering	750	40	790	0.89
Hillingdon	740	120	860	0.95
Hounslow	860	50	910	1.14
Kingston upon Thames	590	100	690	1.25
Merton	700	50	750	1.07
Redbridge	730	30	760	0.86
Richmond upon Thames	830	90	920	1.31
Sutton	460	140	600	0.87
Waltham Forest	640	20	660	0.76
Greater London	25,070	5,200	30,270	1.10

Source: 1991 Census, LRC Specially Commissioned Table LRCT89, Crown Copyright.

Figure 4.1 Rate of employment of domestic workers



Source: 1991 Census, LRC Specially Commissioned Table LRCT 89, Crown Copyright

Figure 4.2 Economically active females as a percentage of adult female population

% Economically active

- 58.71 - 62.26
- 55.15 - 58.70
- 51.59 - 55.14
- 48.03 - 51.58
- 44.46 - 48.02
- 37.34 - 44.45
- 33.77 - 37.33

Figure 4.3 Percentage of households with children under 5

% Households

- 8.49 - 9.32
- 7.65 - 8.48
- 6.80 - 7.64
- 5.96 - 6.79
- 5.12 - 5.95
- 3.43 - 5.11
- 2.58 - 3.42

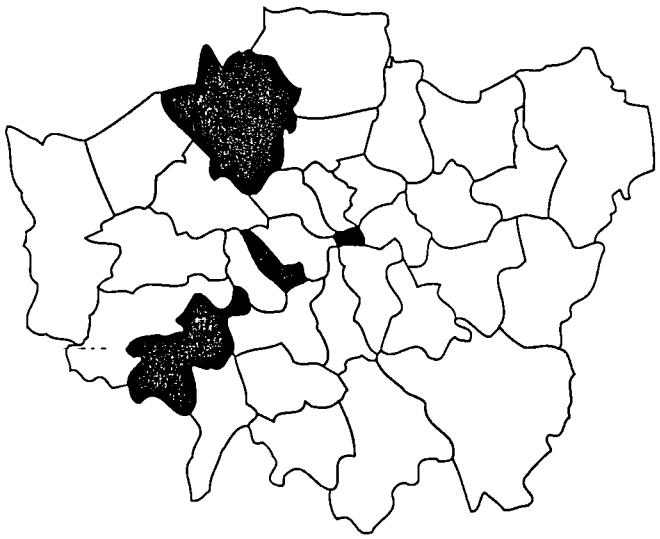


Figure 4.4 Percentage of population in professional or managerial occupations

% Households

- 40.01 - 45
- 35.01 - 40
- 30.01 - 35
- 25.01 - 30
- 20.01 - 25
- 15.01 - 20
- 10.01 - 15

Source: 1991 Census Data

Figure 4.3 displays the percentage of households with children under 5 years of age for each borough. There is an uneven distribution of young children within London. The outer London Boroughs have a larger percentage of households with children than those in inner London. The boroughs with the lowest percentage of households with children under 5 years of age, the City, Westminster, Camden and Kensington and Chelsea, are also those with the highest rates of employment of paid domestic labour.

Figure 4.4 shows the percentage of the economically active population employed in professional and managerial occupations by borough. The categories 1.1 "Employers in large establishments", 1.2 "Managers in large establishments", 2.1 "Employers in small establishments", 2.2 "Managers in small establishments", 3 "Professional workers - self-employed" 4 "Professional workers - employees" and 13 "Farmers - employers and managers" have been summed to create a total of those in professional and managerial jobs (cf. Hamnett 1996). Again the map shows an east/west divide within London, with boroughs in the west having a larger proportion of the population employed in these occupations. The comparison between this map and that of employment of paid domestic labour shows similarities. Four of the six boroughs with the largest proportion of the population employed in professional and managerial occupations: The City, Richmond, Kensington and Chelsea and Camden are also four of the six most important boroughs in terms of employment of paid domestic labour. Also, those boroughs with the smallest proportion of the population in professional and managerial occupations: Newham, Tower Hamlets and Barking and Dagenham, also show very low levels of employment of paid domestic workers.

The strength of the relationship between the distribution of paid domestic workers and the other variables was tested using Spearman's Rank Correlation Co-efficient. This test was applied as it is suitable for use with populations that are not normally distributed and the distribution of paid domestic workers is highly skewed. The relationship between the proportion of the economically active population living in a borough employed in professional and managerial occupations and the percentage of households employing paid domestic labour showed a correlation of 0.788, where 1 is a perfect correlation and 0 is a completely random distribution. This value suggests that there is a significance to the relationship between the two sets of data at more than 99 per cent accuracy. This suggests that there is a less than 1 per cent chance that the similarity between the rates of professional and managerial employment and the rates of paid domestic employment have occurred by chance. When the same test was applied to the relationship between the proportion of women who are economically active in a borough and the rate of paid domestic employment

the correlation co-efficient 0.2665. This suggests that there is about a 13 per cent chance that the relationship between the data has occurred by chance. When the relationship between the distribution of domestic workers was tested against the distribution of households with children under 5 years old was tested a strong negative correlation appeared. A value of -0.7045 was found. This value is significant at the 99 per cent confidence level. It suggests that boroughs that have a large number of households with children under five do *not* have a large number of households that employ domestic help and that it is unlikely that the correlation has occurred by chance.

It would be dangerous to jump to any conclusions about the reasons for the distribution of paid domestic workers from these comparisons. The very small number of households employing paid domestic labour in most boroughs means that it is possible that all those who do employ are households with women that worked, that contained children under five years of age and where no household members were employed in professional or managerial occupations. However, it is possible to say that the areas of London with the highest incidence of employment of paid domestic labour are not the areas with the highest proportion of women in the workforce or with households containing pre-school children, whereas they *are* the areas with the largest proportion of the population employed in high status occupations. From this analysis of census data it appears that the ability to pay for help in the home, as indicated by the prevalence of high status employment, is the underlying factor that regulates who will employ domestic labour. At this scale at least, it seems that it is the existence of class inequality, rather than gender inequality, that explains the distribution of paid domestic work within London. Statistical tests are not able to show causes of relationships and cannot uncover the processes that lead to correlations. The later chapters of this study investigate the processes that cause particular people to seek paid domestic help.

Survey of Classified Advertisements in *The Lady*

The survey of classified advertisements in *The Lady* was carried out to supplement what could be gleaned from the census and to give a more up-to-date picture of domestic employment in London. This survey provided a greater insight into the type of jobs available and their more precise location . The existing census data on domestic employment are useful for revealing broad trends in the location of paid domestic work and can easily be compared with other information from the same census. However. there are a number of limitations to this data. First, a large number of domestic employees remain invisible either because they are employed informally and would not declare their occupation to the census, or because they

identify primarily with another occupation. This would exclude any domestic workers who are undocumented immigrants, those who are benefit dependent and those who also have another job. Existing studies suggest that a large number of domestic workers, particularly those employed as cleaners, fall into these categories. Second, the census groups all domestic jobs into two categories. This disguises important differences between types of work done. Although not all categories of domestic employment are advertised in *The Lady* this source does illustrate the relative importance of many categories and does give a clear idea of the geography of demand. Census data were not available at a small scale, such as ward or enumeration district, yet analysis at borough level disguises inequalities within those areas. Classified advertisements could be desegregated by post code sector and the whole of the area within the M25 motorway considered. Post code sectors are still quite large but are smaller than boroughs and some intra-borough variation in advertised demand for paid domestic help is apparent. Last, the census is taken every ten years and, in a sector that changes rapidly, is easily dated. Gregson and Lowe (1994) and Garner (1996) both comment on the extent to which employment of paid domestic workers can change within a five year period. Use of classified advertisements from *The Lady* allowed a mid-decade measure of expressed demand for paid domestic labour to be made.

Classified advertisements in The Lady are from private individuals looking for domestic help. Generally the advertisements are for full-time domestic workers, most of them to live-in. Employers include a variety of details in their advertisements. Some specify pay and accommodation, some the number and ages of children to be cared for. Many try to describe the character of their household and the person they want. Some specify an age range that is desired. Legislation prevents advertisements specifying the nationality or religion of applicants and this is enforced by the magazine (see Appendix 6 for examples of classified advertisements from *The Lady*). Due to the variety of content of classified advertisements it was impossible to analyse them for details such as pay or accommodation offered. Advertisements from *The Lady* were used just to give the most basic details about the sector, the relative importance of different types of jobs and their location within London.

Demand for paid domestic labour appeared to be focused on childcare, and many different categories of childcare-related job were advertised. However, many childcare-related jobs were not for sole-charge nannies and 12 per cent of classified advertisements were for posts which were not childcare-related. The distribution of

demand reflects patterns of wealth within London. Demand is concentrated in a limited number of areas, particularly that for non-childcare related help.

Jobs Offered

In total 1669 advertisements for paid domestic workers in London were counted in a four month period. The most common categories were those related to child care such as Nanny (860 advertisements), Mother's Help (185 advertisements), Nanny/Mother's Help (137 advertisements) and Au pair (116 advertisements). Childcare-related posts made up 88 per cent of all the advertisements. The most common non-child care-related situations were Housekeeper (56 advertisements) and Housekeeper/cook (40 advertisements). Table 4.2 below shows the total number of advertisements recorded for all categories of domestic worker.

Table 4.2 Advertised Demand for Paid Domestic Labour in London

Job Title	No. of Advertisements	Percent of Total
Companion/Carer	3	.
Nanny/Teacher	3	.
Maternity Nurse	6	.
Couple	9	.
Mother's Help/Housekeeper	12	1
Carer/Housekeeper	14	1
Au pair Plus	17	1
Carer	22	1
Domestic Helper	32	2
Housekeeper/cook	40	2
Mother's Help/Au pair	44	3
Housekeeper	56	3
Housekeeper/Nanny	89	5
Au pair	116	7
Nanny/Mother's Help	137	8
Mother's Help	186	11
Nanny	860	51
Other*	24	1
Total	**1669**	

Source: classified advertisements in *The Lady* April-July 1995.

*Other posts were: Housekeeper/Caretaker, Ladies Maid, House Maids (2), Companion/Cook, Houseperson/Valet, Au pair/Houseminder, Housemanager, Housekeeping Assistant, Cleaner/Housekeeper , Housekeeper/Driver (2), Nanny/Au pair, Companion (2), Chauffeur (2), Teacher, Nanny/Carer, Handyperson/driver, Nurse, Assistant and Childcarer/Housekeeper .

The results of the survey of classified advertisements in *The Lady* show that, as was the case with census data, childcare dominates the sector. Demand for nannies accounts for 51% of all advertisements placed and other child-care related posts make up a further 37%. Typically nannies are employed as sole carers for young children, that is they provide care while parents are absent, sometimes on a full-time basis and sometimes part-time. Mothers' Helps, the next most important group, are typically unqualified women who provide care for older children, or for young children while their mothers are present. They are also expected to carry out more housework than nannies and may spend the majority of their time doing tasks other than childcare. Au pairs are young women from a restricted group of European countries who live with British families while they are studying English. Their conditions of employment are set by the Home Office (see Appendix 7 for details). They are normally paid £35 per week and in exchange for this they can be asked to work for a maximum of 25 hours a week for their host family. Au pairs who are working within these regulations cannot, therefore, provide the only care for pre-school children whose parents work full-time outside the home but they can be important in looking after older children in the time after school finishes and before parents return home. However, many au pairs are employed in conditions that do not conform to the guidelines, working many more than 25 hours a week, and are an important source of childcare for children of all ages.

Analysis of the type of help required reveals some interesting points about the sector and supports the pattern emerging from analysis of census data. Most importantly these findings show that the relationship between women involved in paid work and demand for paid domestic help is not a simple one. Many explanations of the recent growth of the domestic employment sector have cited the increase in women working as a cause of demand for paid domestic childcare (Gregson and Lowe 1994; England and Stiell 1997). However, analysis of the type of help wanted shows that the situation is more complex than this. Just over half of all advertisements in *The Lady* were for nannies, maternity nurses and housekeeper/nannies who could be providing full-time sole charge care. The remaining demand was for posts that could provide some part-time childcare or no childcare at all. Therefore, although the need for children to be looked after while their parents are absent is significant, other domestic work is also very important in creating demand for paid domestic help. Employers of full-time domestic workers, as represented by those that advertise in *The Lady*, are not just overstretched working mums but are also people who are choosing not to carry out their own housework and can afford to pay someone else to do it.

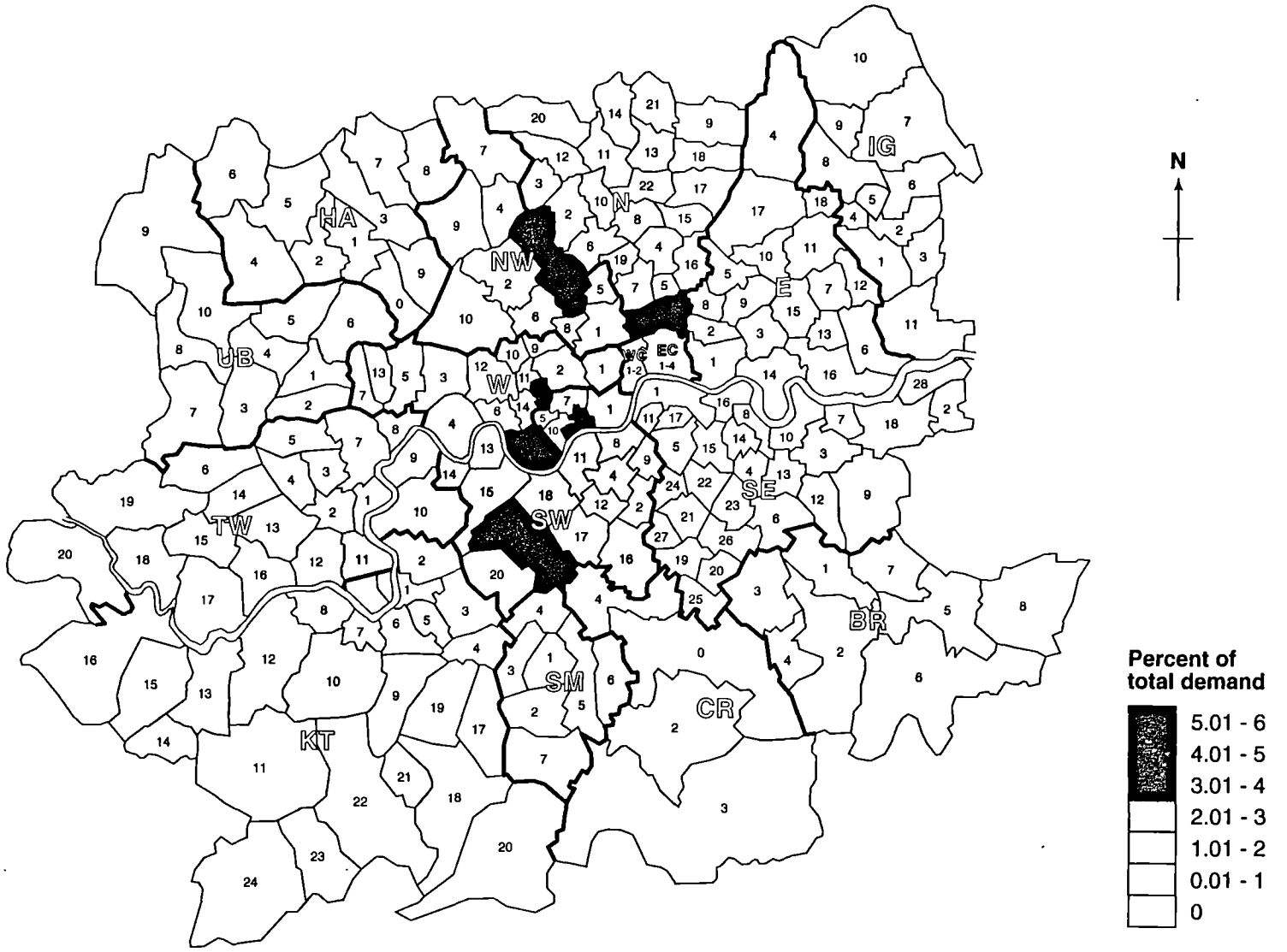
Distribution of Demand

Demand for all categories of paid domestic labour was mapped by postcode area. This allowed the degree of concentration of demand to be discovered and allowed for comparison between the distribution of demand for different types of paid domestic labour. Figure 4.5 shows the proportion of demand for all types of domestic work originating in each postcode within the M25. Figure 4.6 shows the distribution of those jobs that do not normally involve any childcare.

Figure 4.5 illustrates that demand for paid domestic labour is concentrated rather than evenly dispersed. Together the vast majority of postcodes account for less than 1% of all classified advertisements, whilst seven postcodes, NW3, NW11, N1, W8, SW3, SW6 and SW19 account for 25% of all demand. Advertised demand is clustered in central London and is slightly biased towards the west. NW3 has the highest level of advertised demand. It alone accounts for just over 5% of demand although it is not as central as other postcodes with high levels of advertised demand. In comparison with the map of census data showing domestic employment this map shows demand to be more highly concentrated in a few postcodes. The City, which showed much higher levels of employment than all other London boroughs, shows low levels of demand and Camden, the borough that contains NW3 did not show particularly high levels of employment. There are a number of factors that could explain these differences such as the different scale used in each map and the time period that had elapsed between the two sets of data being collected. However, perhaps more important than this is that the two measures could show different groups of domestic workers. Those revealed by the census are employed formally and are likely to be at the 'top end' of the domestic employment spectrum. They would most often find work through domestic employment agencies rather than magazine advertisements. The domestic workers sought by employers advertising in *The Lady* may not be formally employed. Taking out a classified advertisements is much less expensive than using an employment agency and different households will use different methods of recruitment.

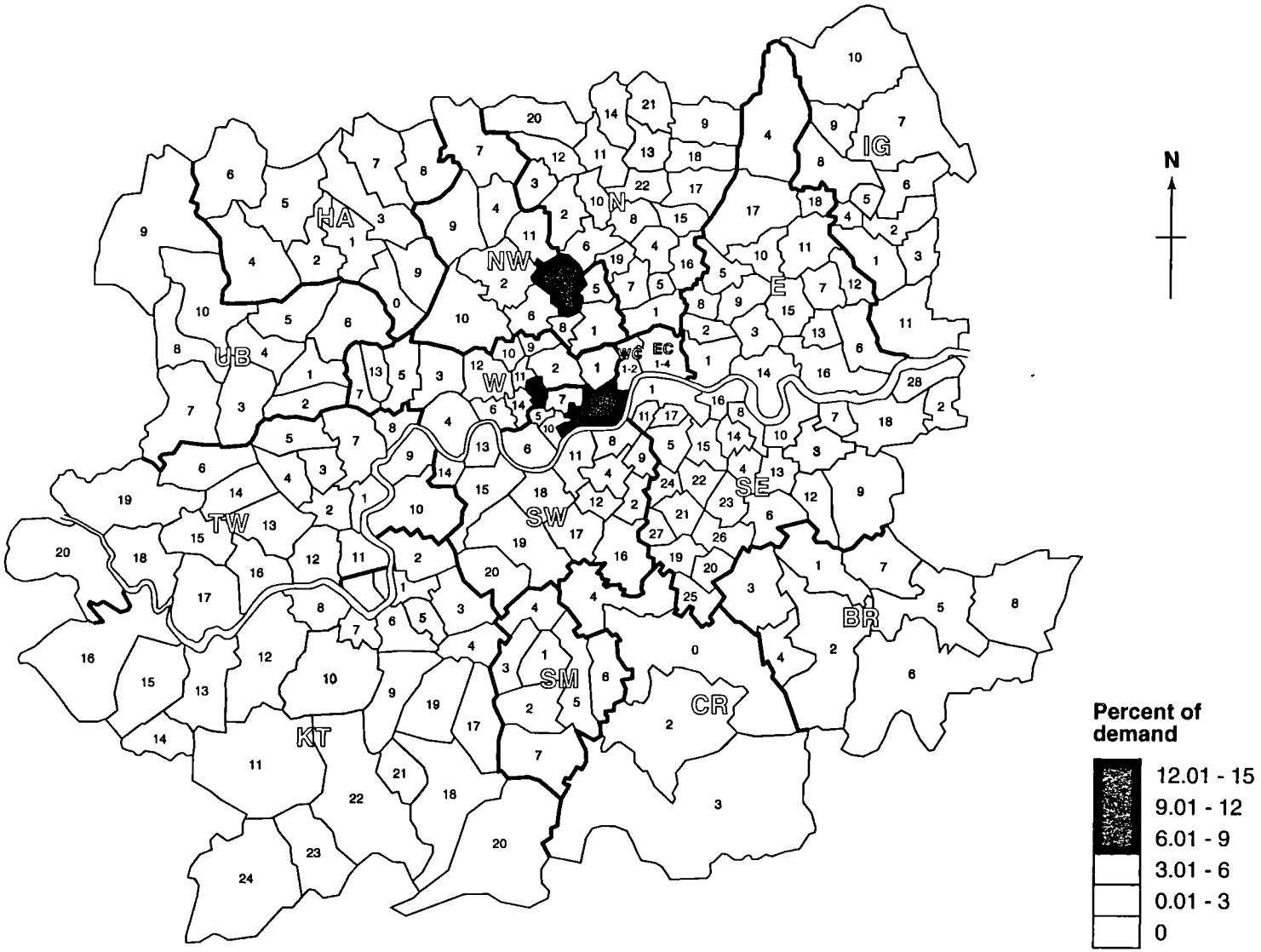
Demand for domestic help that is not normally involved in child care is even more concentrated than that for all categories of domestic labour. Postcodes in central London, those around Hampstead Heath and Wimbledon account for almost all demand. Again, NW3 is the source of the largest proportion of demand, accounting for 14% of all advertisements in this category. NW3, SW1 and SW3 together are the source of 35% of all advertisements for non-childcare related posts.

Figure 4.5 Distribution of demand for all categories of paid domestic workers in London



Source: *The Lady* classified advertisements April - July 1995

Figure 4.6 Distribution of demand for non-childcare related domestic workers in London



Source: *The Lady* classified advertisements April - July 1995

It is impossible to explain this pattern of demand from the available evidence. However, a number of important points can be made. First, areas that show high levels of demand for paid domestic labour correspond to wealthy, established residential areas rather than areas that are new suburbs or have a mixed population. However, as was the case with borough level census data of the greater London area, there is nothing to suggest that there is either a coincidence between areas with a large proportion of women working and those advertising for paid domestic help, nor between areas with a large number of children and those advertising. Those post code sectors that show a high level of expressed demand in 1995 are similar to those that the 1991 census records as having high rates of employment. Again there is some similarity between boroughs with a high percentage of the population in professional and managerial employment in 1991 and post codes with high recorded levels of demand for paid domestic labour in 1995.

Again, it would be dangerous to jump to any conclusions about the source of demand for paid domestic workers from these comparisons. The very small number of households advertising for paid domestic labour in *The Lady* means that, just as when census data were compared, it is possible that all those advertising were households with women that worked, that contained children under five years of age and where no household members were employed in professional or managerial occupations. It is also possible that comparison of 1995 data on advertisements for paid domestic workers cannot be meaningfully compared with 1991 data on the rate of female participation in the workforce, rates of professional and managerial employment or the location of families with small children. However, it is possible to say that from data available in both 1991 and 1995, there is no evidence that the areas of London with the highest incidence of demand for paid domestic labour are the areas with the highest proportion of women in the workforce or with households containing pre-school children, whereas there is some evidence that they are the areas with the largest proportion of the population employed in high status occupations.

Although dominated by demand for childcare the pattern of demand for paid domestic workers does not add up to a map of working women suffering under role strain. Consideration of the domestic jobs that are advertised supports this view. Nannies and maternity nurses may be employed as sole carers (although some were only part-time) but it is unusual for other jobs to provide the only childcare for pre-school children with working parents. Therefore, the majority of demand for paid domestic labour is the result of a more complex set of circumstances than just the increasing number of women in full-time work. Responses to role strain do not

necessarily involve employing help, gender roles can be challenged within households. Men can also be employers as can single people of both genders.

Results of the Survey of Employment Agencies

Domestic employment agencies are a great source of information about the sector, as well as being active in shaping it. They hear the experiences, needs and aspirations of both employers and employees and have a financial interest in understanding both sides. England and Stiell (1997) comment that agencies can also be important in reflecting and reproducing stereotypes of different workers, steering women of a particular age or ethnicity into the jobs that they are seen to be most 'appropriate' for. Therefore, they are not only a source of information about others who participate in the sector but also important actors themselves.

Employment agencies were asked two sets of questions. The first group were simple, closed questions about the types of jobs available, typical pay, the age of the workers they were placing and their nationalities. The second group were open-ended questions about how employer and employees related to each other. Specifically agencies were asked what employers and employees said they wanted from a worker or job.

Jobs Offered

The first questions put to agencies asked them to estimate the number of domestic workers they had placed in the previous 12 months and whereabouts these positions had been. The results showed some overlap with ads from *The Lady* but there were also substantial areas of difference. Table 4.3 below shows results from nine agencies interviewed who were asked to estimate the number of domestic workers they had placed in London and which jobs these workers had been going to. The table shows that a large number of paid domestic workers are placed through agencies, a total of nearly 3,000 from these nine agencies alone and that those in 'top end' jobs are significantly under-represented in the analysis of classified ads placed in *The Lady*.

Table 4.3: Number and Type of Domestic Situations Filled by Agencies in London

Job Title	No. of Positions Filled	Per Cent of Total
Lady's Maid	3	.
House Maid	12	.
Chauffeur	27	1
Cook	45	1
Couple	100	3
Housekeeper	115	4
Butler	150	5
Domestic Help	210	7
Au Pair	380	13
Maternity Nurse	500	17
Mother's Help	532	18
Nanny	882	29
Total	2995	

Source: Interviews with domestic employment agencies 1995

The table shows that childcare-related employment is important to agencies, making up 77 per cent of the positions these agencies had filled. As with the classified advertisements, nannies were the most important single group. Maternity nurses appear to be more significant in agency placements than in classified advertisements. Maternity nurses have a very specialised role, looking after new-born babies and their mothers for about the first six weeks after birth. It is possible that new mothers are happier finding this type of specialist care through agencies or that maternity nurses are difficult to recruit privately. A single maternity nurse can be placed up to seven times a year and therefore the figure given in the table over-represents their importance within the sector. Agencies were asked how many posts had been filled in the previous year and the 500 positions may have been filled by only 100 people due to the short duration of contracts.

What is most notable about the positions agencies were filling is the scale of employment of top-end domestic workers such as butlers, chauffeurs and housekeepers. Agencies interviewed were not selected at random, but were purposely targeted to provide information about parts of the sector that were thought to be under-represented by classified advertisements in *The Lady*. Top-end agencies were specifically selected to provide information on that part of the sector.

Interviews with these agencies reveal that the employment of formal domestic workers in multi-staff households is not a thing of the past.

All of the top end agencies expressed the opinion that the sector had been hard hit by financial recession in the early 1990s. The impacts of this were a decrease in demand for all types of paid domestic worker and specifically a very sharp decrease in demand for chauffeurs. Demand for couples has increased simultaneously as larger staffs are replaced by just two people. During the summer of 1995, when interviews with agencies were carried out, demand was starting to increase again and a number of new agencies had emerged.

Distribution of Demand

Agencies were asked to comment on the whereabouts in London of the positions they were filling. It was found that nannies were placed throughout London but the majority were in West and South West postcodes. Au pairs were generally placed in central London and West London (two agencies commented that many Au pairs request to be in 'zones 1&2' on the underground). The top-end agencies described demand as coming from a few very precise areas, the most important being central London, especially SW1. Also important were Hampstead and St. John's Wood (NW3 and NW8). One agency described a recent increase in demand for this type of domestic labour from East London, both inside and outside the Docklands. It appears that there is still a heartland of the formal household around Belgravia and Knightsbridge. The agencies supplying prestige domestic staff were concentrated in a very small area in SW1.

Domestic employment agencies showed that demand came from similar areas to classified advertisements in *The Lady* but with greater demand coming from central London. This demand was overwhelmingly for highly-paid domestic workers who are less likely to be recruited through classified advertisements. Not only are they difficult to recruit, but also their employers can afford agency fees that often amount to thousands of pounds.

Characterising Demand For Paid Domestic Workers

The next questions agencies were asked concerned the nature of the workforce and what domestic workers and employers were looking for in a job or an employee. These questions were generally qualitative in nature and provide an overview of the characteristics of the domestic workforce in London. The questions about what each side of the relationship is looking for in the other also allow comparison with the comments of domestic employees and employers themselves. The personal

characteristics of domestic workers were found to be very important in delimiting what jobs they were placed in. The gender, age and nationality of domestic workers were very important, with employers requesting specific genders and nationalities for different jobs. Pay and accommodation offered varied widely between posts and this variety indicated that the sector is segmented into a number of different labour markets rather than being a single whole. Comments by agencies on what employers and domestic workers are looking for in each other reveal that the personality and personal characteristics such as gender and nationality of domestic workers are important to employers while accommodation and working hours are the main concerns of employees.

Gender

Paid domestic labour is strongly segregated along gender lines. Certain jobs are seen to be appropriate for women and others for men. With the exception of butlering, these jobs correspond to a "traditional" division of tasks within the home. Women are responsible for childcare, cooking and cleaning and men for driving, gardening and household maintenance. Table 4.4 summarises the gender typing of the domestic workforce.

Table 4.4 Gender of Paid Domestic Workers in London

Position	Gender
Butlers	Male
Chauffeurs	Male
Couples	One male, one female (married)
Au pairs, mothers' helps and nannies	Female
Housekeepers, cooks and maids	Female

The gender of au pairs was restricted until the early 1990s. Before that time the scheme was restricted to young women as it was assumed that a childcare role was appropriate for them but not for men. This part of the scheme was challenged by a Swedish man and gender is no longer, officially, a parameter (see Appendix 7). However, men still find it very difficult to get work as domestic child carers, including au pair posts. Au pair agencies commented that they could not place men as employers suspected their motives and were frightened of having a strange man

living in their house and in close contact with their children. Assumptions about women's maternal "instincts" prevent such suspicions arising against them.

Male domestic workers are more often employed in formal households and are generally more highly paid than women. This could be, in part, explained by the historical scarcity of male domestic workers because of the tax paid by their employers. This pushed male domestics into the wealthiest households and the most visible jobs. However, the inequality between male and female pay rates in the domestic sector is no different from that in the commercial world. Nor is the tendency for men to be given responsibility. Butlers, in multi-staff households, are managers of other staff and chauffeurs are responsible for the maintenance of vehicles as well as driving them. This situation within the domestic workforce is similar to that described by Bradley (1997) as characterising "male" jobs generally. Men are expected to be able to do jobs requiring technical expertise, intelligence or authority. Even when tasks done are similar, such as can be the case with butlers and housekeepers, the jobs that men and women do are inscribed with different characteristics. Men are not called "housekeepers" women are not called "butlers". The image of the domestic worker is a part of the job and that image is gendered.

Ethnicity

Domestic employment is segregated along ethnic as well as gender lines. Agencies were asked about the nationality of the people they were placing. Apart from butlers, who are almost always English, it seems the domestic workforce of London is international in origin. Table 4.5, below, summarises agency opinions on the nationality of different groups of paid domestic workers.

Table 4.5 Nationality of Paid Domestic Workers in London

Position	Nationality
Butlers	English
Chauffeurs	British, Portuguese, Filipino
Couples	British, Portuguese, Filipino
Au pairs	European
Mothers' helps	British, South African, Australian, New Zealander
Nannies	British, South African, Australian, New Zealander
Housekeepers, Cooks and Maids	Portuguese, Spanish, Filipina, British (normally in charge).

The origin of au pairs is controlled by law and they come overwhelmingly from Europe. The largest single source quoted was France but Spain, Italy and Germany were also important. All of the agencies interviewed placed only people who were legally on the scheme but they were aware of practices employed by other agencies. It was noticed that some Eastern European countries are becoming increasingly significant sources of supply for au pairs but many of these women are working illegally as only countries of the former Yugoslavia, the Czech Republic and Slovakia are part of the scheme. Two agencies commented that many Polish women are coming to Britain to work as au pairs now but are employed illegally and are very poorly paid.

Agencies stated that nannies and mothers' helps were often British, although many Australian and New Zealanders also worked in these jobs. One agent mentioned that to some extent they were not working in the same labour market because households she dealt with generally requested either a very formal English nanny, trained at Norland or equivalent, or an informal nanny to be a part of the family. Australians and New Zealanders were particularly requested by these employers. People of different nationalities were perceived by employers to have different personalities even when applying for the same job.

Cooks, housekeepers, maids, and domestics (cleaners) placed were almost exclusively from three countries: the Philippines, Portugal and Spain. Filipinas were the largest group but it was thought that Portuguese women were most sought after, particularly as housekeepers. All agencies placing workers in these jobs commented that women from these countries were considered to be much better domestic workers. One agent even said she could not place British people in these situations unless they had years of experience and excellent references. To quote this agent on why this is the case,

> "Well, Filipinas, they just know how to do it. They know how to clean everything properly...And you should see their ironing! It's just great, just perfect. English women just can't do that, they don't do it right."

British people were more likely to be placed as housekeepers in charge of other staff or as couples. Couples are employed to cover a range of domestic jobs. Often the woman will be a cook/housekeeper and the man will be a butler/chauffeur. In households with no other help the woman will also do cleaning and the man gardening and odd jobs. Older, British people are recruited to this work. One agent commented that British people are "not subservient enough" to be good domestic workers in many situations and it is perhaps because of this that they are favoured for the most senior posts, particularly those involving the management of other staff.

The importance of domestic workers' ethnicity to their employment opportunities illustrates the emphasis put by employers on employees' personal characteristics and the potency of stereotypes in creating employers' views of these characteristics. Employers favour particular gender and ethnic groups for particular situations because they believe that people of that gender and ethnicity will display the personality traits they desire. These stereotypes are then reinforced by agencies who will rarely challenge employers' requests for an employee of a particular sex or nationality. As can be seen by the quote above, stereotypes are also absorbed by the agents who will then be an active force in placing domestic workers according to their ethnicity. England and Stiell (1997) have noted that in Canada, where a similar situation exists, domestic workers have also been seen to take on these stereotypes and use them to their own advantage.

Age

The domestic labour market is stratified by age as well as by gender and ethnicity. Domestic workers of different ages fill different types of posts. Table 4.6 below summarises agencies' comments on the age of the domestic workers they were placing.

Table 4.6 Age of Domestic Workers in London

Position	Typical Age Range
Butlers	25 - 35
Couples	40 - 60
Au pairs	17 - 25
Mothers' Helps	17 - 25
Nannies	20 - 35
Housekeepers, Cooks	30 - 45

The age differences between workers in different domestic positions reflect in part time spent in training and in part the progression of workers between jobs. Butlers and nannies both receive formal training. Butlers often are formally trained in Butler Schools and then spend time in junior positions in large households. Many butlers working in London have been footmen and underbutlers in the royal palaces before becoming butlers in smaller households. Most nannies receive formal college training after leaving school, either in a specialist private nanny college such as Norland, or in a state Further Education College. This training means that nannies tend to be older than au pairs or mothers' helps when they begin working. Nannies

are also more likely to carry on in this type of work longer because of their higher status and better pay.

Some domestic workers begin in one type of job and move on to another. As stated above, butlers train as footmen and many housekeepers or cooks have been general domestics, maids or housekeeper/cooks before specialising as they gain experience and can choose between positions. Au pairs are only allowed to work for two years and would normally leave Britain and return to education in their home country after a year or two. Mothers' helps may gain enough experience to become nannies after a few years or may leave the sector, some to gain formal training in childcare. Couples tend to be older domestic workers who have been employed as housekeepers or butlers for years already or married people who have been employed in a totally different sphere. Couples often have separate living quarters and more autonomy than other live-in domestic workers; their pay is relatively high and many are saving for retirement. Generally pay increases with age as domestic workers gain experience and can enter more specialist work. Age is also an aspect of personal image that is rewarded by employers. Older nannies and housekeepers appear to be more prestigious and can command better pay for that reason. Butlers may find it very difficult to gain employment in senior positions until they are over 30 because of the image employers have of the middle-aged, perpetually calm and discreet Jeeves.

Pay and Accommodation

The pay, both in cash and kind, of domestic workers varies immensely. Those placed by agencies are likely to be better paid and have better working conditions than those found through private advertisements. Agencies provide model contracts for employees and, as their commission is usually a percentage of the domestic worker's salary, they encourage more generous pay. Also, agency fees are large, 7-10% of a year's salary, and the lowest paying employers will not use them. Table 4.7 below gives some idea of pay levels for domestic workers placed by agencies in London.

Differences in rates of pay demonstrate the diversity of the paid domestic labour sector. An executive butler earning £40,000 a year, plus house, car and foreign travel is a very long way from the image of the downtrodden domestic worker. However, a mothers' help or au pair with low pay, long hours and little privacy is very little distance from her Victorian predecessors. Accommodation and payments in kind are an important part of many domestic workers' pay. Accommodation, particularly in London, can be worth more than actual cash payments. Most live-in domestic workers also receive their meals but what they eat is up to their employers. Au pairs

or nannies may eat with the family, but in formal households different food will be provided for the staff.

Table 4.7 Pay rates of domestic workers in London

Position	Average Pay and Housing Type
Butlers	£12,500 (Royal Palaces only) - £40,000 p.a., Self-contained flat (room and board in palaces)
Couples	£20 - 40,000 p.a. Self-contained flat.
Au pairs	£35 p.w. Room and board
Mothers' Helps	£100 p.w. Room and board
Nannies	£120 - 200 p.w. Room and board, maybe bathroom.
Housekeepers, Cooks	£180 - £350 p.w. Room and board or flat
Chauffeurs	£18 - 20,000 p.a. Room and board if live-in.

What domestic workers are paid for is often unclear. Au pairs have their hours limited by law but many other domestic workers do not have their working hours specified. Many involved in childcare will baby-sit in the evenings for no extra pay and live in nannies may be expected to get up during the night to look after their charges. Domestic workers are expected to be "flexible" about their working hours and when they have time off. A number of agencies commented that a good domestic worker is one who will appear to put the needs of their employer first at all times. Employers are buying not only a certain number of hours help each week, but also the image and personality of the domestic worker. The worker becomes subsumed to the needs of the employing household, or at least should appear to . The practice of domestic workers living-in encourages this process as home and work are not physically separate places.

What employers and employees are looking for

Agencies have to try and match domestic workers who are looking for jobs with employers who want help. In order to do this successfully, agencies pay attention to the detailed requirements of both sides and gain information about how domestic workers and employers perceive each other. Agencies are also important in reinforcing and reproducing the stereotypes that employers have by directing particular domestic workers into particular jobs (England and Stiell 1997). When interviewed agencies were asked what employers wanted from a domestic worker

and what domestic workers wanted when they changed jobs. Table 4.8 summarises these responses.

Table 4.8 Desirable Characteristics of Domestic Jobs and Employees

	Specialism	Comments on what employers were looking for	Comments on what employees were looking for
Agency 1	Top end	Flexible, honest, employers in NW3 want hard-working. Specific nationality, sometimes English-speaking, sometimes Portuguese or Filipinas because they are hard-working.	No children, self-contained accommodation, week-ends off, travel, other staff, central location.
Agency 2	Top end	Experience, especially in a formal household, good references, English speaking, quiet, English people to be in charge of other staff.	Good accommodation, good money, some people want travel, time off.
Agency 3	Top end	Experience, good references, well-presented, well-spoken, no children or pets. Specific nationality - British butlers, Filipina housekeepers. Generally British are thought not to be hard-working.	Informal household, good accommodation, time-off. Some people want other staff, money is less important than other things.
Agency 4	Au pairs	Reliable, good references, experience, women, some people want more mature women.	Central location, good money, up to two children to look after, week-ends off, fixed hours, free time for classes, some want to be part of a family.
Agency 5	Au pairs	Good with children, responsible, good English. Some specify nationality.	To be included in the family, help with cleaning, specific area.
Agency 6	Nannies	Flexible, qualifications, experience, either formal and well spoken English or informal and Australian or New Zealander.	Car, separate accommodation, week-ends off, only two or three evenings baby-sitting a week, travel.
Agency 7	Nannies	Live-in	Live in until mid 20s and then live-out.

The table shows that the concerns of employees and employers were quite different in their nature. Both sides appear to be quite exacting in their requests and generally all employers and all employees are looking for the same things. However, whereas employers made specific requests about the personal attributes of employees, such as

their nationality or accent, employees were interested in their working conditions rather than the character of the family they would be working for.

Employers' concerns are overwhelmingly with the personal attributes of their potential employees. Nationality, appearance, accent and age are all mentioned by agents as high on employers' lists of priorities. Nationality was the attribute most commonly mentioned by employers when looking for a domestic worker. This was mentioned by agencies more often than experience or good references. Gender was not mentioned by agencies as requested by employers because assumptions about the gender of domestic workers were so strong. Agencies did comment that they found it very difficult to place workers outside the traditionally pattern of domestic jobs. The images that employers hold of the suitability of particular ethnic groups for particular types of domestic work are an important force in the domestic labour market. Domestic workers are directed towards the jobs that their nationality is thought to be suited to and the labour market becomes ethnically segregated. Rather than a range of similar jobs being available to a wide variety of applicants, different groups of workers are actually in separate labour markets because of their gender, age and nationality.

Other personal attributes also appear to be important to employers. The appearance, personality and accent of domestic workers were all cited as important by employers. The personal attributes of service sector workers have been identified as increasingly important to their employability (McDowell and Court 1994b). Workers' physical appearance, including their gender, and their personality or demeanour, are understood to be a part of the skills that they offer. It is not just the case that employers imagine that workers with a particular image will be better suited to a job, but rather that the possession of those skills is a necessary part of the performance of the work. Domestic workers are required to care for their employers or their families; they are generally employed to reduce stress on their employers and live and work in close proximity with them. In order to carry out these sorts of duties, domestic workers may need certain personality traits. These characteristics are a necessary job skill; a certain type of personality maybe just as important a skill in domestic work as some form of training or physical ability. Employers are hiring the emotional as well as the physical capacity of their employees.

Employees' requests focused on working conditions, pay and accommodation rather than the characteristics of their employers. Accommodation was cited as most important by agents placing top-end domestic workers and working hours were important to all groups. Agencies said that employees were likely to change jobs in order to improve their accommodation, particularly in order to gain self-contained

living space. As stated earlier, living-in can extend an employee's working day as she or he is always on hand to help out. Self-contained accommodation allows for a separation of work time from home time as well as work space from home space. Living out also affords domestic workers more privacy and allows them control over receiving visitors. However, some employers providing self-contained accommodation may still restrict how long a domestic worker has guests to stay for.

Associated with the need to physically separate home from work was the desire of paid domestic workers to have limited working hours, in particular to have weekends off. Agencies said that employees wanted to know when their time off would be and to have it in the evenings or at weekends. Many live-in full-time employees work very long hours. To have one afternoon and Sunday off is quite typical and many domestic workers have less free time than that. The flexibility that employers want often involves moving employees' days off or cancelling them. In formal households employees may work very late to cover parties and dinners and some employers with two houses expect their staff to spend the weekends travelling between homes. In less formal households live-in nannies, au pairs and mothers' helps can have their days extended by requests for baby-sitting (often "as a favour") or by the demands of sleepless children. Employees' requests to agencies when changing jobs imply that many domestic workers do not have recognised time-off or good accommodation. Things that are taken for granted in most other jobs, such as not having to live in the boss' house and having weekends free, are seen as highly desirable by live-in paid domestic workers.

The survey of domestic employment agencies has revealed the breadth of the paid domestic labour sector. Employers of full-time domestic workers include the very wealthy employing a number of staff in a very formal setting and dual income families with an informal nanny. These different employers create a segmented labour market attracting different types of workers. Domestic workers are typed as suitable for particular posts by their qualifications, experience and age, but most importantly by their gender and ethnicity. The variety in pay of domestic workers illustrates how stratified the sector is, with some, male, workers earning ten times that of others. Agencies believe that employers identify personal attributes of domestic workers as being very important in their employability. The workers are thought to be more interested in their pay, accommodation and working hours.

Summary and Conclusions

The first stage of research provided background information about paid domestic labour in London. The survey of *The Lady* classified advertisements provided some

information on the scale of demand for paid domestic workers and the geography of this demand within London. The range of jobs available was wide, including those dedicated solely to childcare such as nannies, those that perform a range of duties, such as au pairs, and those that do not normally carry out any childcare, for example housekeepers. Demand for paid domestic labour was found to be concentrated in a few areas of London. These are established, wealthy areas, such as Knightsbridge, Chelsea and Hampstead.

Interviews with employment agencies provided information about who domestic workers are, where they work, how much they are paid and how they are recruited. Agency interviews supplemented data gathered from *The Lady*. They revealed the great variety in levels of pay for different groups of domestic workers, the variations in accommodation offered and the age, gender and nationality of different domestic workers. The paid domestic labour market is not a single whole but is segmented between jobs. Different workers compete for different posts that have quite distinct levels of reward. The sector is divided along age, gender and ethnic boundaries. Men and women take on different jobs as do younger and older domestic workers and those from different countries. Each different type of job is inscribed with a combination of age, gender and ethnic characteristics.

Agencies' comments on what domestic workers were looking for in a job revealed that quality of accommodation was very important to those living in. All domestic workers wanted limited working hours and specified times off. This suggests that many employers do not provide this. Employers' requests when looking for a new domestic employee focused on personal characteristics rather than technical skill. Agencies thought that employers most often specified the nationality of the employee they were looking for and the gender of employees was assumed. Again this illustrates the extent to which the sector is segregated along gender and ethnic lines. People with particular personal characteristics are ghettoised in particular jobs that they are thought to be best suited to and agents become reluctant to take on workers that fall outside this pattern.

This chapter has given a broad view of the full-time domestic labour market in London. However, it has not touched on the most numerous domestic workers, part-time cleaners nor provided any direct explanation of the domestic labour market. The next chapter presents results from in-depth interviews with employers in Hampstead. It explores in detail the working of the labour market there, including that for cleaners, and provides explanations of individuals' motivations and behaviour.

Chapter 5

The Paid Domestic Labour Market at Work: A study of Hampstead, London

The last chapter gave an overview of the domestic labour market in London. This chapter examines in detail how the paid domestic labour market in Hampstead operates. It explores how employers decide to employ domestic help, how they look for employees and how they go about hiring and firing them. It also examines why domestic workers choose to enter the sector, how they look for jobs and how they select appropriate positions. The study found that the paid domestic labour market is shaped by class, race and gender inequalities both in society as a whole and within individual households.

In Chapter 2 it was argued that inequalities in class, race and gender are important forces shaping both the demand for, and supply of, paid domestic labour. Labour markets reflect and reproduce social inequalities. Class divisions create a market for paid labour that is then mediated by racism and sexism. Women's participation in paid work is affected by both the constraints imposed by responsibility for reproductive labour and also the ideology that arises from that burden. Ethnic minorities are discriminated against, not only in the workplace, but also in education and other institutions and so find themselves steered towards low-skilled and poorly paid jobs. The paid domestic labour market is a product of all these forms of inequality.

Studies of paid domestic labour from Latin America, North America and Asia have investigated why women choose to enter the paid domestic workforce. Often this is associated with their migration from rural to urban areas, or across national boundaries. Radcliffe (1990) and Gill (1994) have argued that many women enter domestic work because they lack formal skills in other areas and need housing as well as work. In other cases, (see for example Glenn 1981; Cock 1987) it is exclusion from other types of work, often due to racism, which causes women of particular ethnic groups to become paid domestic workers. Gregson and Lowe (1994) also found that the domestic workers they interviewed in Britain were motivated to seek these jobs due to their exclusion from other types of work. For nannies this was due to a decrease in the provision of state-run child care causing a shortfall in nursery jobs available. For cleaners it was more often because of their need to work informally and to work part-time due to benefit dependency and child care responsibilities.

Much less has been written about why employers choose to pay for help in the home. Gill (1994) and Goldsmith (1989) in their studies of domestic workers in Latin America have argued that the employment of paid domestic help was a necessary condition of middle class status. This echoes McBride's (1976) analysis of domestic employment in nineteenth century Britain. Gregson and Lowe (1994) argue that in contemporary Britain 'role strain' on working mothers increased demand for paid domestic labour as women in full time, career-structured jobs were unable to cope with the double burden of productive and reproductive work once they had children. This explanation is also favoured by England and Stiell (1997) in their study of the growth of paid domestic employment in Canada. Gregson and Lowe (1994) also argue that for 'service class' couples without children, paid domestic help may provide leisure time which is at a premium due to long working hours.

Despite offering some explanations of why domestic help is employed and why paid domestic work is taken on, Gregson and Lowe's (1994) study still leaves certain gaps in our knowledge about the British situation. First, because of its exclusive focus on dual earner households it offers no explanations as to why different household forms may employ domestic help. Second, it covered only the nanny and cleaner forms of paid domestic labour and does not examine employment relations in other parts of the sector with quite different patterns of pay and work. Third, their sample of domestic workers did not include any people of colour and was therefore unable to address questions related to racism and occupational ghettoisation on ethnic lines. Anderson's (1993) study of live-in, migrant domestic workers offers some information about how these women become forced to take domestic jobs when

abroad and how they are unable to leave them when in Britain. However, it does not examine occupational ghettoisation amongst domestic workers who are legally able to enter other forms of paid work.

This chapter traces how class, gender and race shape the paid domestic labour market. It looks at each hierarchy separately and examines how inequalities in society at large and within individual households influence demand for, and supply of, domestic help. The chapter begins a discussion of how class differences affect the sector. It uses analysis of employers' reasons for taking on domestic help and employees' reasons for entering the workforce to look at the role of class inequalities. Next the importance of gender inequalities are considered in terms of how they shape the labour market to produce demand for and supply of different forms of paid domestic labour. After this interviewees comments on recruitment and job hunting strategies are examined to reveal the ways in which ethnic differences are articulated within the domestic labour market and how some national groups come to be concentrated in paid domestic labour. Last the chapter draws together these threads to explore how these multiple inequalities combine to actively shape the domestic labour market. Employers' comments on their idea of the perfect employee are used to reveal the importance of class, gender, age and race stereotypes to the employment of domestic help.

Class - The Creation of a Domestic Labour Market

Class is the basic division between domestic workers and their employers. The fact that one hires the labour of the other creates the labour market and defines the employment relationship. The paid domestic labour market is created by the ability of employers to pay for domestic workers while employees need to earn money. Demand for paid domestic labour is created by ability to pay combined with personal attitudes that see employing domestic help as appropriate, either as a form of child care or housework. The supply of domestic labour is a product of domestic workers' need to earn money, together with conditions that limit the type of work available to them. The attitude of employers that encourages them to employ and the limitations on employees that encourage them to enter this type of work are a product of a complex interaction of a number of factors including class.

Employers

An examination of why employers choose to employ help in the home illuminates some of the attitudes that define paying for domestic work as appropriate and exposes some of the class-based assumptions that underlie that choice. Employers were asked why they choose to employ domestic help. Their answers fell along a spectrum from

those who could see no way of doing the work themselves, through those who were busy and felt their time was better spent doing other things, to those who just did not want to do domestic work. These groups did not correspond simply to those who did and did not employ help with child care. The single people interviewed and the married women who worked full-time stressed their lack of time available for housework. Employers who were married women with a traditional role, working part-time or not at all, explained their motivation in terms of not liking housework. Each of these explanations encapsulates the idea that domestic work is boring, low status and a more appropriate form of labour for someone else, someone worse off.

Seeing No Other Way - Paid Domestic Help as a Necessity

Employers who could see no way of performing all necessary domestic tasks themselves were composed of two elderly couples who employed cleaners, two families that employed au pairs and one family that employed a nanny. Two of these families also employed a cleaner who was not seen as absolutely necessary.

Both elderly couples (Employers 4 and 12) felt unable to cope with all their housework. One of these couples included a wheelchair-bound woman, while the other consisted of a disabled man and a woman with injuries to both hands. Both households were able to pay for their own private domestic help but one also received some help from social services. The quote below from Employer 4 illustrates this situation:

> I can't carry anything with either hand now. So really, because of my hands, I would find it pretty difficult to do a lot of things. And, obviously, I have to do the washing up and things but I can only lift two plates at a time with both hands, so it makes it terribly slow and I certainly wouldn't want to do the housework... But even if I hadn't got the problem with my hands I wouldn't want to spend the time doing cleaning and I would take longer than three hours. I might do it better, I might not, but I would be slower you see.

The solution of each of these couples, to employ private domestic help, is only available to them because of their ability to pay for it. Most elderly people have to seek different methods of coping if they become frail or disabled. Friends, neighbours and family may be more important in coping strategies or housework may just be done less often. As the quote above shows, Employer 4 feels unable to do the housework but also does not want to do it. Her decision to employ private domestic help is a product both of physical infirmity and her assumption that paid help is an available alternative.

The households that had children and employed help to care for them while both parents worked were Employer 7 who had a nanny and Employers 1, 2 and 10 who employed au pairs. Employer 7 employed a nanny 12 hours a day, four days a week

to care for two children, aged 4 and 2. She never considered giving up work herself or sharing child care with her husband; a nanny was seen as the obvious solution as soon as her first child was born.

Employer 1 used an au pair to cover child care during the hours after school and before parents arrived home from work. Various other solutions, such as working from home and Kids Club at school, had been tried or considered but nothing else was seen to be both workable and affordable. The quote below sums up their decision making process:

> Employer 1
> But then, [when the mother could no longer work from home] because both people were essentially going to be away from the house from nine o'clock in the morning until six o'clock, seven o'clock or whenever, meetings or whatever allowing. If you've got three children, unless you've got an extended family which is very close, where you've got either mother in law or grandparents or somebody else who can sort of look after the children during the day, you have no choice but to actually employ someone.

Employers 2 and 10 both employed au pairs to cover child care during the hours that they worked. Employer 2 found the solution convenient while employer 10 had a more ambivalent position. She disliked having someone living in the house yet needed someone to look after her youngest child while she and her husband were out at work and employing a child minder for those hours would be less convenient and more expensive.

Help with child care was employed by these families to enable both partners to work, even when one partner only worked part time. For those families that employed au pairs this was seen as the most affordable solution to their need for someone to "fill in the gaps" for a few hours at a time. As au pairs live-in they are also more flexible than childminders paid by the hour or collective care such as after-school clubs. Free baby-sitting in the evenings was also cited as an advantage by au pair employers. On top of this most au pairs help with housework and may prevent employers paying separately for a cleaner. Income level was important in enabling these employers to take on some help but restricted them from using the form of paid domestic labour they most wanted.

The employment of privatised, individual child care is articulated by these employers as the only solution to their needs but this disguises a plethora of assumptions. Employer 1 had tried alternative arrangements, such as working from home or using collective care, but none of the other employers had tried out different solutions. England and Stiell (1997) comment that nanny employment is favoured by many families as it is thought to most closely resemble the care children get from their

mothers. Therefore, private, individual care is selected over collective care deliberately. None of the women interviewed had attempted to share childcare with their husbands. All the husbands worked full-time and there was no question of distributing child care between partners. The women saw the help they employed as enabling them to work, rather than enabling both themselves and their partner to work. Deciding to employ paid domestic help assumes the ability to pay for it. These employers saw private, individual childcare as their only alternative , yet they knew that it would not have been a possibility if they had less money or less space to house someone extra.

Choosing to Pay - Paid Domestic Help as a Luxury

Those households that employed domestic help that they could have coped without were quite varied in their composition. They included one house of four people who worked full-time and employed a cleaner; three other single people who worked full-time and employed a cleaner; four families where the father worked full time and the mother worked part time and a cleaner was employed (three of these also employed child care which was seen as necessary); and one family where the father worked full time and the mother did not work and a cleaner was employed. The amount of part-time work done by the working mothers varied from four 11 hour days to one evening a week. Two of these women worked from home.

This group of employers expressed a dislike for housework and felt that it took time which could be better spent doing other things. The four single people (Employers 3, 5, 9 and 13) and Employer 7, who is married and worked 4 days a week, all felt that they were busy and that employing a cleaner freed up valuable time. Examples of this are found in the following comments:

> Employer 3
> But also there is an element of well, I work my socks off, sort of 50 to 60 hours a week at the moment, the last thing I want to do when I come home is mess around with a hoover or something for the sake of a fiver. It's just an absolute bargain.
>
> Employer 5
> Umm, A, because I hate housework and B because I have a very busy job and I'm not prepared to give the time to housework.
>
> Employer 7
> In terms of cleaning, I haven't cleaned for years to the extent that when I have to iron something, when I'm going out, I actually quite enjoy ironing a dress. No I iron the kids stuff a little bit. But no I don't feel that hoovering or washing baths is my job at all. If I never have to do that again before I die I really will never do that. Because of my time, what we have is premium time.

The last of these quotes expresses the idea that cleaning is "not her job", which was echoed by other employers who employed help that they could have done without. Employers 2, 6, 8 and 10 were all women who were married with children; their

husbands worked full time outside the home and they worked part time; Employers 6 and 8 worked from home. These women all chose to employ cleaners because they did not like cleaning and did not see it as being their job; two of them also said they would be worse at it than their cleaners. These views are captured in the following comments:

> Employer 2
> Why do I employ someone? Well, I employ a cleaner because I hate cleaning and housework. I've never done it because I wasn't brought up that way. You know I do put things away or whatever. I do clean, but I actually find it boring and I would much rather, I can afford it, and I would, that's why I employ someone, you know. And I'm not very house proud, I'm not that interested, that's why she [the cleaner] sometimes does things that I wouldn't think of.

> Employer 8
> RC Why do you employ someone?
> ER8 So I don't have to do it.
> RC Because you don't like doing it?
> ER8 I loathe doing it. I am so martyrly about it ... I loathe repetitive chores. I work for this pressure group and I can actually be doing something for someone else ... I won't do the hoovering because it's a waste of my time and I am really desperate about my time ... Unfortunately, or fortunately, Jewish women do not see themselves as cleaners.

Employer 11, who did not work, expressed sentiments similar to these, that she disliked housework, did not want to do it and found it a waste of time:

> Employer 11
> I don't like doing any of it, I don't enjoy ironing or washing or hoovering or dusting. I'm not very domesticated, I don't find it satisfying, I get very little satisfaction out of it. Basically because of the the sort of house we live in, it's not terribly practical you know, four of us living in it and it just seems like the Forth Bridge you go round and round and round and nothing ever lasts. We don't have many rules with the kids. Basically shoes off, particularly with the heath outside but apart from that, there's popcorn under the seats. We do all live here and we do actually live here, we don't just stay here. So tidying up is a waste of time really except for the fact that you reach a point where you have to because you can't move so it's all very unsatisfying really.

All these women disliked housework and did not see why they should do it but they all expressed the idea that it was not their husband's job either. None of them saw a solution in sharing out housework between members of the family. They saw cleaning as something which they were responsible for providing in some form, either by their own labour or by paying someone else. Rather than shifting the domestic burden between genders it was shifted between classes as working class women were paid to do the tasks which no one in the family wanted to do.

As the above demonstrates the majority of domestic help was not bought in to allow women to work full-time outside the home. The sector exists not only because of inadequacies of state provision of child care, or just because of gender inequalities in the burden of reproductive labour but also because of income inequalities and assumptions about roles that have their roots in class differences.

Employees

Paid domestic work is rarely highly paid or especially rewarding in other ways. Cleaning, in particular, is hard work, low status and insecure. Domestic work is seldom the employment of choice for those who do it. Rather they enter the sector because of restrictions that limit their choice of occupation. Class is one of the structures that limits opportunities. Working class people need to sell their labour to survive but generally their choice of jobs is limited in a whole number of ways. Personal characteristics such as low educational attainment or lack of confidence are matched by employer prejudice and socially created barriers, such as lack of state child care facilities or poor public transport, that affect people who cannot provide private alternatives for themselves. Employees explanations for why they entered the sector reveal some ways in which class inequalities shape the supply of domestic labour.

Finding a Way to Live in London - Child carers

For two of the au pairs, who were 18 years old and taking a break between school and college, au pairing was entered into enthusiastically and was chosen quite deliberately. Both of them wanted to work in England in order to widen their experience and improve their English. The only way they could stay in London for any length of time was by finding work and au pairing was favoured because of the accommodation offered. For two others au pairing had been taken on more reluctantly. They had both been unemployed for months after graduating from university and hoped that learning English would improve their chances of finding work at home. For one, who was a PhD student, financial difficulties had made it necessary for her to take on some kind of paid work in addition to a few hours teaching a week. If she had not been able to get a live-in job she would have had to look for a job with much longer hours which would have detracted more from her work on her PhD.

The reasons given by child carers for entering the sector are largely practical; they all needed to earn money in circumstances that were circumscribed in some way, such as whilst living abroad or studying. The explanations given by this group all assume that the work is available and appropriate to them. Underlying these assumptions are their ideas about child care as fitting particular gender and class groups. None of them considered domestic work to be of too low status to take on and none of them worried about being unsuited to it despite having no previous experience or qualifications.

Fitting in with the Kids - Cleaners

The two cleaners interviewed were both single parents trying to cope with their child care responsibilities and work for as many hours as possible. One was claiming income support and only worked as a cleaner. The other worked full time as a home help for social services, part time as an ancillary community care nurse and did private cleaning. For both these women the ability to fit their cleaning jobs in around their other responsibilities was important and made taking on cleaning work possible where other jobs would not be. This is illustrated in the following quote:

> Employee 7
> When you've got kids it's so hard to fit something in and this fits really nice ... there's no point thinking about nothing else until they are older

For Employee 7, who was claiming income support, it was important that her work did not detract from the money she got in benefits. If she had had to work in the formal sector she would have had to work full time to earn the same amount of money. Working longer hours would then have interfered with her child care responsibilities. Employee 1, who was not benefit dependent, carried on doing private cleaning even though she worked full time. What she earned from cleaning was not taxed and therefore she was able to earn considerably more for a few hours work as a cleaner than she could from either of her other jobs.

Personal circumstances are combined with structural forces to steer these women into paid domestic work. Single-parenthood, low pay or benefit levels and the need to cover child care all make domestic labour a suitable form of employment. For these women the demands of reproductive labour impact their choice of paid work. For employers the same pressures create demand. The difference between the two groups is their ability (or otherwise) to pay for help and their assumptions about what solutions are available or appropriate. These are differences built on class inequalities.

Case Study 1 - Employer 9

Employer 9 is a single man who lives alone in a four-bedroomed house in central NW3, Hampstead Village. He works full-time as a commercial barrister and employs a cleaner for three hours each week. The cleaner hoovers the house, dusts, cleans the bathrooms and kitchen and does ironing. Employer 9 expressed his motivation for employing a cleaner in terms that he was busy and did not want to spend his free time doing housework or ironing. Employing a cleaner allowed him to enjoy his leisure time more and to be more efficient at work. This rationale has as its basis the assumption that some forms of labour are more valuable than others and that some

people are more appropriately employed in those more and less valuable tasks. As a barrister, he is self-employed and time spent on reproductive labour can detract from time spent in paid work. Some of the cleaner's labour affects his participation in paid work directly. Most notably, she irons clothes that he has to wear in court. Employing a cleaner is not only possible because of his class position, it can also be seen as a way that position is maintained or enhanced.

Gender - Shaping the Domestic Labour Market

Gender inequalities within employing households have been seen by other writers to be the central factor explaining contemporary employment of paid domestic labour. Gregson and Lowe (1994) and England and Stiell (1997) have both identified the unequal burden of reproductive labour within employing households as the motivation behind employers taking on domestic help. However, these explanations overlook the class differences between employers and employees that make the existence of a domestic labour market possible. Gender inequalities within employers' homes, employees' homes and in society at large combine with class to create the domestic labour market. Gender inequalities are important in shaping the form that paid domestic work takes. The type of help demanded by employers will be a product of their household organisation and life cycle stage. The fact that paid domestic workers are overwhelmingly female is a result of inequalities between genders throughout society and in employees' homes.

The assumption that women are "naturally" responsible for reproductive tasks underlies the organisation of society. It is this assumption that limits spending on communal childcare, that creates discrimination in the job market and that determines the gender division of labour within individual households. For employers with an unequal division of tasks within the home, the burden of housework can be arduous and, therefore, paid help is an attractive option. The gendered nature of reproductive work is also an element of its low status, again making this work unattractive to those who can afford to pay someone else to do it. For employees, sexism in the education system and the workplace can limit opportunities and steer women towards types of work it is assumed they are suited to. A large burden of domestic labour for working class women, who cannot afford to pay for help in the home, may limit the hours that they can engage in paid work and curtail the range of jobs available.

Employers

The lack of socialised child care facilities or social provision of domestic help is a result of assumptions about women's role. Generally, within England, care for pre-school children and labour in the house has to be provided privately by family

members or by paying for help. This assumption, that reproductive labour is the responsibility of the privatised family and not of the state, creates a burden of domestic work for all households. Gender inequalities, therefore, underlie all demand for paid domestic labour, including that coming from men.

The section above argued that employers were able to take on paid help because of their ability to pay for it - a product of class inequalities. Employers' reasons for wanting to pay for help in the house were expressed in various ways and generally reflected the low status of housework and the problems of co-ordinating child care and paid work outside the home. These explanations contain assumptions about the value of domestic labour and about who ought to do it. Once paid help is seen as an option, the type of help taken on will be influenced by the gender division of labour within the household and by life cycle stage.

An unequal distribution of domestic work between household members can be an important influence on the form of domestic help employed. A very traditional gender division of labour within the home may prevent women entering the productive workforce. This may decrease demand for child care (if there are young children) but still create demand for help with unpleasant and low status housework tasks. For households with a more egalitarian division of labour help with child care may be employed to enable both partners to work. However, in general employers saw this type of arrangement as allowing the woman to work.

Employers 5, 8, and 11 were married women with children who did not employ help with childcare but who limited their engagement in the paid workforce because of their domestic responsibilities. Employers 2, 7 and 10 were married women with children who worked part-time and employed child care to make this possible, they also employed help with cleaning because they did not want to spend their time doing housework but saw themselves as responsible for it and did not get any help from their husbands. Employer 1 employed an au pair to allow both partners to work outside the home full-time. The au pair also did some housework but other tasks were seen as being a joint responsibility of family members. The division of reproductive labour within employers' homes was an important influence on the type of help employed.

Male employers may choose to take on domestic help because they do not see themselves as able to do housework, or because they never expected to do it. Two male employers were interviewed, both employed cleaners. Employer 9 had lived alone for many years both with and without paid help, he disliked housework but did not explain his employment of a cleaner in terms of being unable to do the work

himself. Employer 3 was a member of a house of four young men, not long out of university. They chose to employ a cleaner both because it was "a bargain" and because they did not feel particularly good at keeping house:

> Employer 9
> When it's four blokes, like the minute you tidied up and you know the guys are just going to, you know, by the next day it's going to be a shambles again ...when they're four blokes, and they're male, there's just, there's not many cleaning up genes between them.

Male employers may be less skilled, or feel themselves to be less skilled, at housework. The gendered division of labour within their parents' home or general societal expectations may make men more likely to employ domestic help if they can.

Employees

Domestic workers often enter the sector because they are unable to take on other types of work and because domestic employment is accessible. Practical restrictions that result from their own domestic burden can combine with expectations about what jobs are suitable to steer women into paid domestic labour. Entry into the domestic labour force, and the form of domestic work taken on, varies between genders and between people of different ages. This section explores how gender inequalities and life cycle stage limit domestic workers' choice of jobs and also how gendered stereotypes of domestic workers increase women's ability to access the sector and funnel women of different ages into different types of domestic work.

Cleaners

Cleaners in London are overwhelmingly female. All the cleaners employed by people interviewed were women and only one employer had ever had a male cleaner. Women enter the sector both because the work is available to them and because other types of work are not. The two cleaners interviewed were both single parents, they took on cleaning because it fitted around other commitments that they had and other work did not.

Each of these women is a single parent who has to combine paid work with child care. For Employee 1, who works full-time and has older children, it is the flexibility to fit private cleaning around other work and so increase earnings that is important. For Employee 7 it is the need to fit in with school hours. Both of these women is negotiating their domestic responsibilities and paid work in circumstances that are constrained by the fact that they are single parents. This constraint can take the form of needing to earn more than one wage or of needing to limit hours worked. Their domestic burden is not the result of an unequal division of labour within the home but an unequal division of responsibility between partners. Neither woman received

support, financial or otherwise, from her ex-partner. This situation, which is quite normal for lone parents, is not so much the result of irresponsible behaviour on the part of individual men, but rather a result of societal value systems that expect separated women to look after children and allow men to lose contact with their offspring. The cleaners interviewed were involved in this form of domestic work because they are single parents and they are single parents, in part at least, because they are women.

The fact that other employment options are not easily available is also a product of gender inequalities within society. As was argued in Chapter 2, the assumption that women will provide reproductive labour affects the type of work that is available. Few employers provide child care, or hours flexible enough to co-ordinate with child care needs. This organisation of the formal labour market then excludes those who do carry out child care from a wide range of jobs. Many women, who do bear this burden whether they have partners or not, then need to find work, such as cleaning, that they can fit in. Gender inequalities within society and individual households steer women into domestic work, and into certain forms of domestic work.

Au pairs

Au pairs chose this sector because it was accessible and provided a cheap way to live in London. The assumptions of agencies and employers about women's suitability for child care roles meant that these women found it easy to get jobs as au pairs where men of their age would not. Evidence from interviews with agencies and employers suggests that young men would have found it much harder, if not impossible, to be placed and this route would not have been open to them. In fact, until the early 1990s the scheme did not include men. It had always been assumed that only young women would be suitable as live-in child carers. Life cycle stage was an important influence on the type of type of domestic work taken on by both cleaners and au pairs. The au pair scheme only includes people aged 17- 27, but even if these legal limits were not there, this type of working arrangement would only be available to certain groups. Most importantly the need to live-in effectively excludes people with children or those that want to live with partners. The low wages prevent anyone with dependants taking on this work. The limits of the au pair scheme reflect a number of assumptions about domestic work and women's role in society, that young women are available to work abroad before marriage and that they are suited to child care work. These assumptions then limit those who can engage in the scheme and so produce a work force that resembles that it was designed around.

Life cycle, Gender, Body and Image

The assumption that all women are able to do domestic labour underlies their ease of entry into the sector. The gender of their bodies is a more important qualification than any training or skill. At different points in their life course, at different ages, women are seen as suitable for different types of domestic labour. This suitability is perceived by employers, domestic workers themselves and also by authorities such as the Home Office, who issue work permits.

Women found it easy to enter the sector without any kind of formal training or qualification. Women at different life stages were propelled into different parts of the sector that were suitable to them and that they were seen as suitable for. Both the cleaners interviewed had started cleaning after friends suggested it to them and put them in touch with employment opportunities. For Employee 7, who has lived in north west London all her life, contacts were made through friends living locally and neighbours. Employee 1 is Filipina and began domestic work in the Philippines. From there she moved to Hong Kong and then to London. Her work permit for this country was restricted to the domestic sector and she was engaged to work in a British family from abroad. Since then contacts in the Filipino community in London have put her in touch with other employment opportunities, all of which are based around domestic work even when they are in institutional settings.

Employers comments about how they selected domestic workers illustrate the importance of gender and age in making certain bodies appear as appropriate domestic workers. Employers looked for an employee that they thought they could trust and the image that the employees presented was very important to their employability.

Few employers were confident that they were good at selecting domestic workers and generally employers of cleaners were happier to take on a cleaner employed by neighbours or friends rather than advertise and interview. For those that did interview, providing that references were good, it was how the employer felt about the person that was important. The quote below illustrates this:

> Employer 9
> They come round here and I show them the house and I think, you know, you can tell. I think it's basically whether you actually think you like the person on the whole because you are letting them into your house and the relationship is very much based on trust and reliability.

The emphasis is on whether the employer likes the cleaner, rather than any technical ability. This is a product both of the assumption that all women know how to do

housework and the intimate nature of paid domestic labour. Employers do no want someone they are uncomfortable with to have access to their private space.

The hiring of au pairs was in some ways more hit and miss than the hiring of cleaners, with many employers never meeting the au pairs before they started and no references being available from previous employers. All the au pairs interviewed found positions easily, none of them had experience but they each had a choice of posts available. Employers were prepared to take an unknown woman into their houses to work with their children because of their assumptions about the suitability of young women to this type of work. Employers were asked if they would employ a man to live-in and none of them said they would. Employers mistrusted the motives of young men prepared to do domestic work. They worried that such men would be dangerous and using au pairing as a way to access young children. This reveals employers convictions both that men, in general, would not want to do child care without a sinister motive and that men have alternative forms of employment available to them and therefore would not take on au pair work just to live in London as women do.

The employers who were able to interview au pairs looked for someone who would fit in with their household and who appeared to be happy with the situation that was described to them. One employer had particular strategies for telling if au pairs would be relaxed in her household. First she would tell them that both she and her husband worked for pressure groups to see how they reacted and then she would introduce them to the family,

> Employer 8
> They'd meet the kids and the kids would have them sit on the whoopee cushion and give them snappy gum and, you know, it was very informal and crazy. And the more relaxed the girls looked during the interview or the more uptight, would be something. And they would say to me "I just don't want to work for you," which was brilliant. So that was how we got these au pairs that were really nice kids ... And I don't want boyfriends. " Do you have a boyfriend?" I'd say sternly in my American voice and they would say "Yes, I have a nice boyfriend in Germany." "That's fine, Germany's fine," I'd say. And the ones who could get the humour and had an idea what was going on here felt perfectly comfortable. Like I said, the others just went out the back door.

This employer was unusual in that she did have a strategy for interviewing and it was a strategy she found successful. The emphasis on identifying a suitable au pair was on her personality and characteristics of moral behaviour, such as whether she has a boyfriend. The employer is assuming that by identifying a particular type of young woman she will end up with a good domestic employee.

Gender inequalities play an important but contradictory role in shaping the paid domestic labour market. The privatisation of domestic labour within the family

creates all demand for paid domestic help. The assumption that women are "naturally" responsible for reproductive labour is a bedrock of society. The lack of social provision of child care and domestic help is based on this. This assumption also influences the structure of the labour market as a whole, limiting the number of jobs available to people who need to work and care for young children. An unequal burden of reproductive labour within employers' families can produce demand for paid help, the form that this takes will vary as the family life cycle changes. The form of domestic labour that workers take on is determined by their gender, their own domestic burden and their life cycle stage.

However, the image of women as suitable for domestic work is contradictory. Employers simultaneously accept that their cleaners are good at cleaning because they are women and that they themselves are not suited to it. For male employers this is easy but for female employers it is more complicated. All but one of the couples in the sample identified the woman as the employer of domestic help. These women saw themselves as responsible for housework, because of their gender, but also rejected this role. This rejection did not involve redistributing domestic tasks within the family but in employing someone else, a woman, who it is assumed is suitable because of her gender. Employers of paid domestic labour and their employees are not women who are equally oppressed by responsibility for domestic tasks. Paid domestic work is something that is quite literally "between women" (Rollins 1990) of different classes. The image of women as good at domestic labour is not just a gender image but a class one also.

Case Study 2 - Employer 7 and Employee 8

Employer 7 is a married woman with two children aged 4 and 2, the oldest child goes to play-school part-time. She works four days a week as a partner in a firm of employment consultants, her husband works full-time as a business development manager for a large international company. They live in a four storey house on the edge of Hampstead heath. Employer 7 employs a live-out nanny (Employee 8) for the four days a week she is at work and a cleaner for nine hours a week. The nanny is paid by Employer 7's company.

Employer 7 represents a very particular version of the "new woman". She has a career and children but not because the gender division of labour in the home has been challenged. Employer 7 rejects the idea that cleaning is "her job" but she doesn't think it's her husband's job either. She is proud of her status as a "successful working mother" and this pride comes from being a woman who has moved beyond

the traditional roles prescribed to her. She does not mention that this success is the result of the purchase of 53 hours a week of other women's labour. Employer 7's

domestic labour demands are the product of a particular combination of class and gender roles. Her class position, in terms of earning power and importance within her firm, allow her to challenge the traditional role of a woman as a mother only. However, she does not reject this role entirely and still sees the provision of child care and housework as her responsibility, although she does not see doing the work as her job. Her decision to work outside the home creates demand for a particular form of child care and her acceptance of her responsibility for the housework creates demand for a cleaner.

Employee 8 is a black Londoner in her mid twenties. She has worked as a nanny for Employer 7 for four years and before that was her cleaner. She also works one weekend a month as a residential carer for the elderly infirm. She took on the second job because she was having trouble managing on what she earned as a nanny. Employee 8 entered nannying almost by accident. She was working as a cleaner and studying community care at college when Employer 7 had her first child. Employee 8 loves children and was interested in a care-based career so becoming a nanny for someone she already knew seemed like an obvious step. She is not qualified and did not have any previous experience as a nanny. She would like to have children of her own soon but does not know what would happen to her job, she would not be given maternity leave and doesn't know if she would be allowed to care for her own baby whilst looking after Employer 7's children.

Employee 8 is a different type of "new woman". She lives independently and works hard to make this possible. However, she is involved in a sector which is highly feminised and involves women in traditional roles. She works long hours, is not highly paid and will probably have to give up work when she starts a family. She works as a nanny because she is a working class woman who likes children. She does not have the education necessary to enter a job such as teaching and she was offered a job as a nanny because she was seen to be suitable even though she had no experience.

Race - The Operation of the Domestic Labour Market

Class and gender inequalities are foundations of the paid domestic labour market. Racial, or national, inequalities do not cause the market to exist but they are very important in influencing its operation. People from particular countries are drawn into domestic labour because of the strategies used by employers and employees to

find workers or work. Ethnicity combines with gender and class shape the paid domestic labour market, including some people, excluding others and reinforcing the differences between them. Chapter 4 demonstrated how important nationality was to domestic workers' involvement in the labour market controlled by agencies in London. This section draws on interviews from Hampstead to reveal in detail how the mechanisms of the labour market work to segregate it along national lines as well as those of gender, age and class.

Recent migrants are important as domestic workers all over the world. They are attracted to the sector for a number of reasons. First, for undocumented workers informal sector work is necessary. Paid domestic workers are particularly invisible to the authorities. Second, for people who do write or speak English confidently the routes into domestic work may be easier than into formal sector jobs. For many domestic posts there are no application forms to fill in and few employers require particular language skills. Last, some paid domestic work also provides housing, something that can be very attractive to people moving into a strange city. These factors do not affect all migrants equally but will work, together with class and gender, to steer particular groups into particular forms of paid domestic labour.

The strategies used by employers to find domestic help and by domestic workers to find jobs can be important in drawing particular groups into the domestic labour force and restricting access to others. The formality, or lack of it, in the recruitment process can also influence the conditions under which domestic workers are employed. The first stage of this study examined advertisements placed by prospective employers in the national weekly publication *The Lady* and investigated how some agencies that place domestic workers operate. There are also many other important ways in which paid domestic work is found including advertisements in local papers, shop windows and "mail order" publications. Informal networks of friends, family and neighbours also play a role in matching up those who want to employ help in their homes and those that are available to do this work.

Different recruitment techniques have inherent within them the attraction or repulsion of different groups of employees. The use of informal networks to find domestic help or to find a new domestic job can be instrumental in the ghettoisation of particular groups within particular occupations. Informal networks limit the scope of the search and cause employers to take on domestic workers who are like those they have already employed or those who are employed by others locally. The practice of cleaners recommending and introducing their friends or relatives to employers draws women of the same ethnicity into the same segment of the labour force. Employers' views of what makes a good domestic worker also encourage them to take on

domestic workers who are personally recommended or similar in some way to other employees that they have trusted. The tendency by some employers to conflate personal characteristics with ethnicity again increases their desire to employ domestic workers who are of the same ethnicity as someone else they have successfully employed.

The first stage of this study found that many employers use formal methods to recruit domestic workers. These have their own benefits and pitfalls. *The Lady* magazine is the largest single source of advertised demand for paid domestic help in the country. Typically employers place ads in it for full time domestic workers and, as analysis in the previous chapter shows, the classified section is dominated by advertisements for child care related help. *The Lady* is readily available in newsagents around the country and abroad and therefore advertisements placed in it reach a wide and varied audience. Anyone is free to respond to the ads and it is up to individual employers to select from replies. In this case, and that of other publications carrying classified advertisements such as local papers, it is only the prejudices of the employer and employee themselves that influence who will apply for the job and who will be considered. The disadvantage with this type of recruitment technique is that there is no third party to advise on or moderate the pay or working conditions of the employee. Agencies set pay rates and maximum hours to be worked and can be appealed to if a dispute arises between the two parties. An arrangement which is made directly between the employer and employee has none of these safeguards and is more open to abuse. In fact two agencies that were interviewed commented that they had black-listed clients because of the poor way in which they treated employees and that those people would go straight to take out ads in *The Lady*.

Despite ensuring minimum standards of fairness in the employer/employee relationship, recruitment through agencies brings with it its own problems. Once an agent is involved another filter is introduced which draws in particular groups of people and keeps out others. Interviews with agents revealed they had strong ideas about who were the best and worst domestic workers. Agencies collected the opinions of their clients and their own experiences to produce a framework within which they operated. Different people were steered towards particular types of work based on their age and gender, and most importantly their nationality. All the agencies interviewed were asked which people were generally placed into which jobs and all of them were able to state that employers very definitely preferred particular ethnicities for particular posts. Agencies said they found it difficult to place people outside this pattern, for example, one said she could never place British women as housekeepers and commented that, "they're just not subservient enough." This

hierarchy of desired ethnicities had the effect that domestic workers who fell outside these groups were not taken on the books of the agencies as it was presumed they could not be placed. This in turn perpetuated the idea that only these particular groups could do the particular jobs as employers never gained experience of domestic workers of other ethnicities.

Informal networks of friends and relatives can work in a similar fashion. Domestic workers will put their friends in touch with employers or with agencies that they have found useful. Amongst migrants these networks are very often of people from the same country or region and of relatives. Again, this funnels people of particular ethnicities into particular jobs.

Employers were asked how they had found their current employee, what methods they had used in the past and what they were looking for in a domestic worker. The answers reveal that a wide variety of formal and informal strategies are used to find domestic help many of which restricted the population from which help was being recruited. The employees interviewed were asked how they had looked for paid domestic work. Generally they were younger than the employers and had only short histories of domestic work. Only two of the employees had worked for anyone other than their current employers.

Desperately Seeking Maria - Looking for a Cleaner in Hampstead.

Gregson and Lowe (1994) argue that women from ethnic minorities did not appear to be over-represented in the cleaning population and all cleaners they interviewed were white. However, their study was carried out in two cities which have only small populations of ethnic minorities and are therefore quite different from London which is ethnically diverse. This study found that cleaners in north west London were from all over the world. The cleaners employed by people interviewed in Hampstead included two Portuguese women, three Colombian women, one Russian woman, one Polish woman, one Indian woman, one Filipina, one Irish woman and two English women. They had entered this type of work both because of its informal nature and convenience and because of occupational ghettoisation restricting their range of opportunities.

No employers in the sample had used agencies to find cleaners but they had used formal methods such as advertising in local papers or in local shop windows. Informal networks were also very important in the recruitment of cleaners with the friends of employers and the friends of the cleaners helping each other out. Three of the employers interviewed had found their current cleaner by replying to an ad placed by the cleaner. Two of the employers had placed ads in the local paper themselves

but both had found this unsuccessful, one because it had produced very little response and the other because it had produced too much. The other employers had relied on informal networks to find cleaners. This ranged from asking neighbours for recommendations to taking on someone found by their old cleaner. Three of the employers had been found a new cleaner when their old one had left. The first case was unusual in that the cleaners were not old friends but had met walking on Hampstead Heath. In the other two cases the cleaners were of the same nationality and had known each other some time. Employer 6 explains how this happened to her:

> ER6 I teamed up with this doctor who was always having problems with cleaners and we got the Colombians through him.
>
> RC And have they all known each other?
>
> ER6 Yes they do. They're a network, they hand each other around. I started with Maria, who I got through Dr. Brown and she was coming three hours a week. and she was good. Well I started out with her and she was good ... She was fine but she then got, well she really wanted people who wanted her for longer hours basically, because she wanted to do more than 3 hours a week and they moved in [next door] and took her for 6 hours. Umm and then ahh, what happened? There's a lady in the Vale, I can't remember, I don't actually know, who is a sort of an agent for all cleaners. She [the neighbour] has got her directly through this lady and Maria said that had to take precedence, I had got her through Dr. Brown so she said she couldn't come any more and she handed me on to Diana which I was not very pleased about because Diana is not in the same category at all.

This employer describes the Colombian cleaners as "a network." The term implies that they operate as a group and manage to exercise collective power in some form. This informal recruitment route appears to have developed so it now operates in the interests of the employees. The cleaners are able to ensure that they get enough hours and always get work by operating as a group. Employer 6 is also describing the influence of one particularly important resident of the area who knows all the cleaners and helps them find work. None of the other employers living nearby mentioned this and perhaps had not fallen foul of her as Employer 6 had done. This employer was unhappy with her cleaner but did not feel able to change cleaners and get someone different. The surplus demand for cleaners in this area of Hampstead put cleaners in a strong position and specifically enhanced the ability of those who were part of networks to control their work. Employer 6 again:

> Employer 6
> ER6 If you slip out of the network here, of cleaners, and you haven't got one at all, it's amazingly hard getting back in again because I say people are not that keen on coming down here if they don't know it. You've really got to get somebody else who's got a cleaner already whose got some spare capacity. And in this area there is a great demand for cleaners.
>
> RC So in the foreseeable future ...

ER6 I'm locked into the Colombian network ... this is the third Colombian cleaner I've had

Employers appeared to be keen to exercise informal links and avoid advertising for domestic help. All the employers put great stress on having someone they could trust, and that they liked. Employers found it easier to trust domestic workers who came to them through personal recommendations of their friends or neighbours or their existing cleaners. However, the operation of these informal networks tended to reinforce the ghettoisation of particular ethnicities in particular jobs. A cleaner may ask a friend or relation who is not a cleaner to take over a current employer for her and so draw someone of the same ethnicity into the sector. Employers tend to trust people who resemble in some way those that they have had before and are happier to employ help of the same ethnicity as an employee who they have liked in the past. When employers were unhappy with a cleaner they also attributed the negative traits to her ethnicity. The quotes below show this elision between the personal and the ethnic in employers' minds:

Employer 6
RC So your cleaner that you've got at the moment, you tell her what to do?
ER6 She is Colombian.

Employer 9
The Portuguese are really kind of business like about what they do

Each of these employers is expressing the view that cleaners of different nationalities have different approaches to their work. Employer 9 is attributing a positive characteristic to all Portuguese cleaners, based on his experience with just two. Employer 6 believes that she has to tell her cleaner what to do because she is Colombian, rather than because of some individual characteristic. These attitudes inform employers' recruitment methods as employees of particular ethnic groups are sought or avoided. Stiell and England (1997), in their study of domestic employment in Toronto, found that national stereotyping was very important in steering particular nationalities into different types of domestic work. Filipinas were favoured as live-in maids because they were thought be docile, whilst British women were sought-after as nannies because they were considered to be well-educated or intelligent.

The two cleaners interviewed had used informal networks to find their current jobs. Employee 1 had been recommended to her current employer by a former employer who moved house and Employee 7 had found all her present cleaning jobs through friends. Employee 7 found this type of arrangement particularly useful as she was working whilst signing on and wanted to remain as invisible as possible. Employee 1 also worked in the formal sector and had found her current full-time job through a friend.

This process of informal networking adds to the tendency for people from particular groups to become concentrated in particular jobs. In the formal sector personal contacts may be very important but in the informal sector they can be absolutely necessary. Employers' desire to hire domestic workers who they feel they can trust and the practice of existing cleaners finding their own replacements when they leave encourages occupational ghettoisation.

Claudia, Consuela or Claudine - Au pair Employment in Hampstead

Legally au pairs must come from a restricted group of European countries. Therefore, a specific nationality and recent immigrant status are characteristics of all au pairs. However, within this women from certain countries were favoured by particular employers either because of experiences that the employers had had or because of pre-existing ideas about what young women from particular countries are like. Au pair employers used a variety of methods to find au pairs and these could pre-determine the country their employee came from. Formal methods such as agencies or mail order magazines may only deal with one or two countries and informal methods draw on all the same prejudices of au pair employers as they do of those looking for cleaners.

The methods used by employers to recruit au pairs often predetermined the country they would come from. Agencies tend to have strong links with partners in only one or two other countries and mail order publications are sometimes targeted at just one country. The employers interviewed were deliberate in selecting the nationality of their au pairs. Employer 10 advertised in a magazine in Sweden and had only ever had Swedish au pairs. Employer 1 had had au pairs from a number of countries but preferred Spanish women and Employer 8 had always had au pairs from Germany. She did this because they are a Jewish family and she wanted her children to know German people so they would not be brought up with the prejudices that she was. Nationality was an important influence on the employability of au pairs. People from countries that are thought by employers to provide au pairs with the right skills will find it easier to gain employment.

The methods used to recruit full-time, live-in domestic help were not always conventional and sometimes they were hardly more formalised than those used to find cleaners. Au pair employers had all started off by using agencies to find au pairs from abroad. One employer commented that she did this initially so she could find out about pay and hours and then changed to use mail order magazines. The informal networks used appeared 'hit and miss' but were considered by employers to be successful. Two au pair employers interviewed had swapped au pairs with friends when things were not working out and thereby found an au pair much better suited to

their household. One family successfully found an au pair through somebody the mother met on a train, she explains:

> Employer 1
> And then when I was on the train, when I was on the train one day, I met this nice girl who was Spanish who was looking after these two absolute little brats....We got chatting. She was a really, really nice girl. And I said, she happened to live in Queens Park, and I said we were looking for an au pair for September and did she know any body. And she said "well I won't, I won't be available because I'm going back to Spain." She was called Irana. Anyway, at the end of the summer ... a friend of Irana's contacted us, called Natalia, she moved in with us in the beginning of September.

Employer 1 had already had a number of au pairs and favoured those from Spain. If the woman on the train had come from another country Employer 1 may have been less enthusiastic about asking her for help in finding an au pair.

Four of the au pairs interviewed had taken their jobs from abroad, three by using agencies and one from an advertisement in a magazine. The child carer who was a PhD student had found the post through an advertisement in the accommodation office at her college. These formal methods gave the au pairs a choice of positions and, for those moving from abroad, eased the move to a new country. None of the au pairs had trouble finding work and all of them found the method they had used successful.

Interviews with the au pairs in the sample make clear that they were motivated to enter this type of work in order to live in London cheaply. For three of those interviewed learning English was also very important and living with an English speaking family was seen to be a good way of doing this. For one of the others, who had already lived in the USA for a year, acquiring language skills was not as important as experiencing life in another country. For the last, who was in an unusual situation, the arrangement she had whereby she exchanged child care for a free studio flat, enabled her to undertake a PhD in London which would have been impossible if she had been paying rent. All the au pairs interviewed said that they liked children and some had worked with children before in some capacity. This interest in children was important in their choice of occupation. The quotes below exemplify the au pairs' reasons for entering the sector:

> Employee 3
> The first thing I thought is that I wanted to learn English because I plan to go to America and train. And also I liked children very much so I think it would be a good thing to do.

> Employee 5
> Because I wanted to learn English and I think it's, err, you can learn better in London and it's not very expensive, it's cheaper. And then I can live with English people and you learn a lot of English in the house. [You learn in] the English class too, but in the house more.

The desire to learn English and live in London was a limit the au pairs put on their choice of jobs. Rather than looking for the best au pair position from a number of different countries or cities these women knew they wanted to be in London. Given their age, gender and migrant status there were few other types of work available to them. However, these were the only qualifications they needed for au pairing.

Employers' ethnicity can also shape demand for paid domestic help. Two of the employers worried about racism from prospective employees; one was a mixed race family and the other was a practising Jewish family. Both of these employers brought up the issues of their own ethnicity at the interview stage and watched to see how comfortable interviewees were. For both these families their own ethnicity was a control on who they employed in their homes. The Jewish family had employed only German au pairs and the mixed race family avoided au pairs from eastern Europe or Turkey as they felt that the au pairs they had met from these countries in the past had been most bothered by working for a family with a black member.

Interviews with domestic workers and their employers in north west London have illustrated the ways in which recruitment strategies can predetermine the characteristics of the labour force. The importance of informal networks to the placing of domestic workers with employers can be important in producing localised ghettos of particular ethnicities being concentrated in this type of work. The emphasis which employers place on trust and reliability of cleaners also causes them to look for personal recommendations of cleaners and again reinforces the importance of informal networks. Ethnic stereotyping and the generalising of one domestic worker's characteristics to all others of the same nationality filtered employers' attitudes when looking for domestic help and influenced their recruitment techniques.

Case Study 3 - Employee 1

Employee 1 is Filipina. She works for three hours a week as a private cleaner and she also works as a home help full-time and some evenings as an auxiliary nurse. She is a lone parent and has two children aged 12 and 14. Her whole working life has been spent in domestic jobs in both an institutional and private setting.

When she was in her early twenties and living in the Philippines she and a friend heard that they could get work permits to come to England to work as domestics. She had always wanted to come to England and the only work offered was for live-in domestics. She had her passport and work permit arranged through an agency and went to work for an American family in Hong Kong as that job was available. After a year she moved to England, into a job found by a friend, to work as a nurse and

general housekeeper for a family in Hampstead. She stayed with this family for nine years, earning only £8 per week plus room and board. Employee 1 stayed with them because she felt they were kind to her, paying for English classes and driving lessons, but they wanted her to be a daughter. Her pay was very low and they did not like her to spend her time off out of the house. Eventually she left them and found work as a domestic in the local hospital and took on private cleaning work. Later a friend advised her to move to social services saying "it's just the same as we're doing here."

At each moment in her life Employee 1's gender, class and nationality have made her appear as a suitable domestic worker to both institutional authorities and individuals. She has accepted this assessment and moved between domestic posts using the informal networks and official structures that facilitate the access of Filipinas to these jobs.

Class, Gender, Race and the Domestic Labour Market at Work

Class, gender and race all control the organisation of the paid domestic labour market, but they do not act separately. Each element affects the others and all three combine together. A poor black woman will experience gender inequalities quite differently from a white middle class one. The paid domestic labour market is a product of these multiple inequalities. Forms of demand and forms of supply are a product of the combination of class, race and gender within individual households and individual lives. This section uses employers' comments on their idea of the perfect employee to draw these strands together and demonstrate the importance of race, class, gender and age stereotypes to the domestic labour market.

Employers were asked to identify what made a good cleaner or au pair and what their idea of the "perfect" cleaner or au pair is. Gregson and Lowe (1994) found that the employers they interviewed were interested in the qualifications of their nannies and the references of their cleaners. They also preferred nannies who appeared to be "motherly" in appearance or manners. Few other studies have commented on this aspect of the recruitment of domestic workers. However, Chaney and Garcia Castro (1989) did note that in Latin America docility was often a sought after trait in paid domestic workers. This study found that some employers of cleaners did have an idealised employee in their minds and this image was based in class, gender and ethnic stereotypes. These employers said they had always wanted a "typical " English cleaner who was older and professional. The qualities which were said to make a good cleaner were reliability and honesty. Au pair employers wanted to employ someone they liked and who had a lively personality. As interviews with

agencies also revealed, the 'image' of the domestic work was bought along with her labour power.

The idea that a cleaner should be a middle-aged, working-class white woman in an apron appeared to be alive and well in central London. A number of employers commented that they had always imagined that this type of cleaner would be problem-free, trustworthy, easy to talk to and good at cleaning. These employers were aware that this was an idealised view and put the lack of this type of cleaner down to either modern life or geography. The following give two versions of this idealised view:

> Employer 6
> Umm with the cleaner, I have this sort of fantasy of the sort of cleaner I think you get if you live in villages who is somebody who has lived there and knows everybody and comes in and cleans and could bring you the gossip and I think that would be awfully nice.

> Employer 11
> I think generally speaking, if I had a preference I would rather, what I would probably really rather have, if I actually had a choice, would be an older English woman who, you know, typical old sort of English char would be my preference.

This ideal is expressed in opposition to the reality of the situation where the cleaners who are employed do not come from the area, often do not speak English confidently and are not professional cleaners i.e. they may have other jobs as well and will probably do different work in the future. The ideal version of the English char is subservient and accepts her place, she is a member of the "respectable working class". The real cleaners in Hampstead are not always like this, many of them are openly dissatisfied with their work and make demands of their employers.

There was little agreement amongst employers of cleaners about which qualities make a good cleaner. All but one of these employers prioritised reliability and trustworthiness over everything else. The one exception said she wanted someone who was good at cleaning. Most employers felt that a cleaner had to meet some sort of minimum standard in terms of ability to clean but did not emphasise this. The following quote encapsulates these views:

> Employer 3
> As long as they are sort of, well by my standards, as long as it is a reasonable standard, like my reasonable standard might be pretty poor to somebody else's hygienic standards, but well as long as they're reliable, I'd put that above being an absolutely top-notch cleaner sort of thing.

There were great differences in how employers wanted cleaners to behave, particularly in terms of how chatty they were and how much initiative they took with

the cleaning. Most employers did not want a cleaner who wanted to gossip with them:

> Employer 10
> I specially don't want somebody who wants to gossip for three hours.
>
> Employer 8
> She was really wonderful .... because, number one, she didn't want to talk to me.

These employers wanted a cleaner who would be seen but not heard. They would like a cleaner who is reliable, quite and perhaps docile. The amount of initiative a cleaner could take came up as a consideration on a number of occasions. Some employers wanted a cleaner who would look at what needed doing and just got on and did it while others felt invaded by that type of behaviour. The quotes below illustrate this division:

> Employer 8 (talking about a great cleaner)
> She would say "I'm going up to take care of this mess under the kids' beds" or "let me get into those cupboards." That certain amount of initiative.
>
> Employer 9
> I'd rather a cleaner would come to me and say "well, actually I think probably it's about time we did, I did, the cupboards. What do you think?" I didn't particularly want to come in and find that they'd been done.

All the employers interviewed had a clear idea in their minds of what they thought the right balance was between friendliness and wasting time gossiping and initiative and intrusiveness. However, these ideas differed between employers and often reflected the amount of time they spent with the cleaner. When employers looked for a cleaner they tried to bear in mind their priorities, using references and personal contacts to find reliable and trustworthy cleaners and comparing the personality of cleaners they met to what they imagined the ideal to be. Once employers had found a cleaner they were happy with they would look for others like her, perhaps by using her as a contact or by looking for others of the same nationality.

There was not a single ideal of an au pair but employers did cite many of the same personal qualities that are important in making a good cleaner as important in an au pair. Au pair employers wanted someone who was capable, easy going and had their own life. One family wanted an au pair to be part of the family, the others specifically wanted someone who would not want to be part of the family. Two au pair employers explained that they wanted someone who would interest the children, perhaps plan activities and would keep the children entertained. The following quotes exemplify these opinions:

Employer 2
I don't want somebody who is that young. I want somebody who is a bit older and who has got a life of their own and doesn't necessarily want to be part of our lives. You know, it's nice if they are but, you know, I want somebody who's got a life of their own, who's older and is intelligent.

Employer 1
I think that for us the prime importance has to be that the kids are happy and safe.

These quotes illustrate that the personality of the au pair is still important to her employers but skills to do the job are also valued. Whereas only one employer cited "being good at cleaning" as important in a cleaner, au pair employers put greater emphasis on an au pair being good with, and liking, children. The quote from Employer 2 clearly demonstrates that age and characteristics such as independence are interchangeable in her mind.

Employers of domestic workers focused on the personal characteristics of their employees rather than their real skills or ability to do the jobs. These characteristics are not neutral but bound up in stereotypes of different genders, ages, nationalities and classes. The personal characteristics employers prioritise in describing their perfect domestic worker are not separate from their place in various hierarchies.

Employers relied on stereotypes to inform their recruitment decisions and judge the suitability of domestic workers. These were stereotypes based on assumptions about the "social tattooing" of various bodies; marking only certain gender, class, age and ethnic combinations as suitable as domestic workers. Employers defined themselves in opposition to these assumptions, as too busy to do housework, or rejecting the idea that housework was "their job". They also defined themselves in opposition to a perceived model of the traditional middle class employer, a lazy, uncaring autocrat. Class, gender and ethnic stereotypes were used not only to define suitable employees but also to explain their role as employers. Employers interviewed drew on stereotypes of the "new woman" working hard in her career, the over-stretched high-flyer and even the typical Jewish woman in their explanations for employing domestic help. These images differentiate them both from an imagined tradition of exploitative middle-class employers and the people they employ who are cast as much more naturally suited to domestic labour by the use of these stereotypes.

Class, race and gender inequalities underlie the existence of a paid domestic labour market. Class differences allow some people to pay for the labour of others. Gender inequalities are based on the assumption that women are naturally suited to domestic tasks. This assumption prevents socialised provision being made for child care or housework and creates conditions within individual households that feed the demand

for and supply of paid domestic workers. The life cycle is also gendered and people of different ages will interact in the paid domestic labour market in different ways. Employers and employees will use or supply different forms of domestic labour depending on their gender and their place in the life course. Discrimination against people on the basis of their nationality or ethnicity creates divisions within all labour markets. Those people who are discriminated against are funnelled into work that is insecure and poorly paid. Recent migrants may seek jobs in the informal sector or that do not demand specific language skills. Together these forces concentrate migrant women from a limited number of countries in paid domestic work. Race, class, gender and age are mutually constitutive, each shaping an individual's experience of the other forms of inequality. The operation of the paid domestic labour market in Hampstead is reliant on the use of stereotypes that define certain gender, class and ethnic combinations as suitable for domestic workers. These stereotypes were potent in shaping the labour market, funnelling bodies with some gender, age, class and ethnic images into it whilst excluding others.

The next chapter explores in detail the relationship between employers and domestic workers. It looks at how this relationship is influenced by race, class and gender inequalities and how these are negotiated within a very intimate working relationship.

Chapter 6

In the Home: the Domestic Employment Relationship

The relationship between a domestic worker and their employer is, at its simplest, an exchange of labour for payment. The employer exchanges money or payment in kind for the performance of work which he or she does not want to or cannot perform themselves. In practice the relationship between employers and domestic workers is more complicated than this. It is intimate, affective and familiar and it reflects and reproduces differences and inequalities in ethnicity, class and gender which exist in society. The intimacy that can exist in such a relationship, based in the home and on the performance of tasks that are normally done for family members, is countered by the fact it is an employment relationship where the labour of one partner is purchased and controlled by the other. The employers and employees interviewed steered between these rocks carefully using a number of means to indicate their course. The actions of individuals were important but so were the existing ideologies of race, class and gender roles at negotiating a balance between closeness and distance.

Studies of domestic workers from other parts of the world draw attention to the experience of domestic workers and the nature of the employee/employer relationship. This relationship is often contradictory, being both between those in a formal employment situation and, simultaneously, between those in a relationship which involves elements of kinship and affectivity. Studies have shown this relationship to be mediated not only by gender relations and ideologies and the class relations of employer and employee, but also by hierarchies of race or ethnicity

which work to additionally mark out the inferiority of one member and the superiority of the other. The interaction of race, class and gender within the domestic employer/employee relation has been shown to be complicated and insidious, reproducing the hierarchies of the greater society within the employing household. These structures which shape the relationship between the domestic worker and employer have also been shown to shape the employee's identity itself, producing an ideology which reflects the views of the employer and horizons which are limited by them (Rubbo and Taussig 1983; Young 1987; Radcliffe 1990).

The last chapter examined the nature of the domestic labour market and showed the importance of class, race and gender structures to the placement of domestic workers in particular jobs. This chapter explores the day-to-day organisation of paid domestic labour. How it is paid for, what tasks are done, how the work itself is performed and how use of the home/work space is negotiated. It begins by exploring the basis of that relationship in the exchange of labour for remuneration and explores the relationship between domestic workers' pay and the status of housework. This section explores both payments in cash and kind and the importance of payment arrangements in creating affectivity within the domestic employment relationship. The next section looks at how the performance of paid domestic labour is organised, what tasks are done by domestic workers, how their labour is monitored and controlled and the extent to which they resist that control. The last section examines the significance of the work place of paid domestic workers and how the home/work site affects the nature of the employment relationship. The chapter concludes by highlighting the contradictory nature of the employment relationship. There is a contrast between its affective nature, founded on close physical proximity and shared gender roles, and the distance between domestic workers and employers. This distance is a product of the class relationship they are in but distance is more often expressed in terms of the age and ethnic differences between them.

Remuneration

Domestic labour is characteristically poorly paid. Unlike work in the productive sector, it replaces reproductive labour that is normally unpaid under capitalism. Thus domestic labour is seen to have no financial value and the devaluation of reproductive labour is present even when the labour is paid for. Studies of paid domestic work from a number of different countries point out the low pay, and in some cases no pay, that exists within the sector. Duarte (1989) , Gogna (1989) and Pereira de Melo (1989) describe the pay of live-in domestic workers in Latin America and show that it varies from nothing other than basic bed and board to the level of one minimum wage, or about £70 a month, in Brazil. Anderson (1993) and

Enloe (1989) both explore the low pay of domestic workers from the Philippines and demonstrate their vulnerability to employers who never pay wages to them while abroad. Both Anderson (1993) and Gregson and Lowe (1994), in their studies of paid domestic labour in contemporary Britain, focus on the low levels of pay of domestic workers in their studies. However, domestic work is not necessarily poorly paid. McBride (1976) argues that domestic service was better paid and had better prospects than other jobs open to working class women in Victorian England. This study found a great variety in rates of pay and working conditions of domestic workers.

Today there is a great diversity in rates of pay of domestic workers. As Chapter 4 demonstrated, au pairs earn as little as £35 plus bed and board per week and cleaners outside London may earn only £2.50 an hour. However, butlers can earn anything up to £40,000 a year and cleaners within the sample interviewed get paid as much as £6.50 an hour. Although relatively standardised rates of pay appeared to exist for different jobs in Hampstead; what else was included differed substantially between employers. Some employers paid holiday pay or sick pay, some did not, some gave cast off clothing or food. Remuneration for paid domestic work can be broken down into payments in cash, actual wages, and payments in kind. These payments then have to be weighed against the things domestic workers do not have access to, such as holiday pay or maternity leave, which are common in formal sector jobs.

Payment in Cash

General rates of pay for full-time domestic workers were gathered during the first stage of research and are presented in Chapter 4. In-depth interviews investigated the details of pay arrangements for domestic workers in Hampstead including those working part-time. Rates of pay appeared to be consistent among the sample interviewed for the job done. Two au pairs were paid £40 p.w. for a 25 hour week and two others were paid £50 for a 35 hour week plus bed and board. All the cleaners in the sample were paid £5 - £6.50 an hour and were employed for between one and a half and eleven hours a week by each employer. All of them were paid cash in hand and so were neither taxed nor paying national insurance. Despite rates of actual pay showing little variation there was a great variety in other forms of remuneration and conditions.

Cleaners were all paid cash in hand, by the hour, and were paid relatively well compared to private cleaners in other parts of the country and to contract cleaners working formally in London (Allen 1997; Allen and Henry 1997; McDowell and Sharp 1997). However, there were great variations in what the cleaners were paid for. All but one of the employers paid their cleaners if they themselves went on

holiday and often asked the cleaner to come in and do particular tasks like cleaning out cupboards during that time. One employer paid her cleaner holiday pay but the others did not. Two of the employers said that their cleaner sent someone else if she was going on holiday and so they paid that person. Two others said they would give their cleaner some money before she went away as a present but not holiday pay. Six employers had never thought about paying holiday pay and had never discussed it with their cleaners. Similar attitudes were taken towards paying sick pay. One employer had paid her cleaner sick pay and always would. Others were prepared to pay if one or two days in a week were missed. Three employers said their cleaner would have to specifically ask for sick pay if she was ill and whether it would be given would depend on how they felt about her. The following quotes illustrate the differences in employers' attitudes towards these issues:

> Employer 2
> On the whole I pay her whether she comes or not. I pay her in the holidays, I pay her for her holidays and I pay her double at Christmas. I pay her.

> Employer 7
> RC Do you pay her holiday pay?
> ER7 I pay her a bit ....
> RC Would you pay her sick pay?
> ER7 No, no. I suppose if she was off for four weeks with some illness and she rung me up. She'd have to ask.

All the au pairs in the sample were paid if they were ill and some had been paid while the family were on holiday. However, most of the au pairs were in post for only six to nine months and did not take a holiday themselves during that time. The greatest differences in conditions for au pairs came in their living arrangements which are discussed in the next section.

The one nanny who was interviewed was employed formally with a written contract and with her tax and national insurance paid and a monthly salary. However this arrangement had still not anticipated issues arising around holidays and expenses. It was only after being in the job for two years that the nanny was given any choice in when she took her holidays; before that she had to take holiday when the employing family went away. It had also taken two years for her employers to decide to reimburse her for petrol she used in the course of her job, as she explains below:

> Employee 8
> Believe it or not, holidays is something we've only really negotiated over the past two years ... They take quite a lot of holidays in the year, for example January, end of January, they went to Tenerife, then they went off to America the other day and in between they went to Disney, so they travel a lot. You see, I do get a lot of holidays, but at the end of the day, when you look at it, it's not my holiday, it's their holiday. So while they're both working, they can both afford to say "yeah we're going here and there" ... but I might not have the money to go ...

RC You need your car for work?
EE8 Oh most definitely. I mean, you know this hill, you know where the shops are, you know it's not within walking distance. [The son's] school is not within walking distance. Like you know [the daughter] is so small. I mean in the summer sometimes I walk up and down through the park, but not in the winter.
RC So what was the arrangement about petrol?
EE8 Well there was no arrangement.
RC Did they pay your petrol?
EE8 Well, no they didn't for two years, you see they wouldn't for two years, no petrol no nothing.

Interviewees were also asked when pay rises were given and again situations differed. Few au pairs ever got a rise as they stayed for less than a year and employers did not put up pay between au pairs. The home office insists that au pairs are paid £35 p.w. for a 25 hour week, a figure that has not changed in two decades. The au pairs in the sample were all being paid more than this but some were working longer hours. The nanny was supposed to have regular annual rises and generally this worked but one year her annual rise had been integrated with an increase for looking after a second child and she felt she had lost out when this happened. Most cleaners set their own rates and asked for rises but others relied on their employers to increase their pay. Generally the way in which rises were given was haphazard, as the following quotes show:

Employer 2
RC How do you decide when to put her wages up?
DM She tells me.

Employer 9
I foolishly said to her "I'm going to raise your pay" and she said OK. So £6 an hour. That's pretty average around here £6.

Employer 7
I was paying her I think er, yes, £15 for three hours, um, she then had her car stolen, she as she's a home help you know, um and she got very upset about this and um, I feel I noticed that you know it sort of came out that you know really she felt that I wasn't paying her enough. I mean I had been thinking about putting it up but you know time goes so fast and you get out of touch with what the rates are. So I am now paying her £20 for three hours.

Two employers said they had used advertisements in the local paper or shops to give them information about suitable pay rates while others talked to friends. Only one employer was unhappy when her cleaner asked for a rise, not because she thought it was too much money, but because she thought it was above the going rate. None of the cleaner employers had considered giving annual rises on a particular date.

The lack of attention to employment arrangements reflects the extent to which employers, and to some extent employees, consider domestic work to be a job. The fact that the employers interviewed had, in the main, never even thought about if they

should pay holiday pay or sick pay highlights how differently it is organised from more formal types of employment. Both employers and employees were generally reluctant to bring up matters surrounding pay as this challenged the "friendly" nature of the relationship. Both groups also cited the informal nature of cleaning as having its own risks. Lack of sick pay, holiday pay or regular rises were seen as risks of the job.

Payments in Kind

Many different studies have reflected on the importance of payments in kind to the remuneration of domestic workers. These can range from being given cast offs by employers to the provision of housing and a car. In many Third world countries these payments can be more important to the domestic worker than actual payments of cash. For poor women the provision of a room, food and clothing will be significant benefits (Gill 1994). In contemporary Britain live-in domestic workers also receive a large part of their payment in kind. Highly paid domestic workers such as butlers and couples will expect to be provided with comfortable, self-contained accommodation and the exclusive use of a car. Nannies, mothers' helps and au pairs will also expect bed and board as part of their pay. For workers who live out payments in kind can include a meal, cast off clothing or small presents. Live-in domestic workers and their employers who were interviewed also commented that less tenuous things, such as a cultural exchange, are part of what is given with the relationship.

To look first at the au pairs in the sample. All the au pairs lived-in and were provided with room and board by their employers but what this actually meant differed between households. One au pair had the whole of the top floor of the house to herself with her own bedroom, bathroom and spare room. She ate with her employers every evening and was allowed to bring friends around for meals. Another au pair, being paid the same wage, lived in a tiny room made from the turn in the stairs. She was not allowed to have friends to stay and had never had a friend come to dinner. In theory they were earning the same, but in practice they were each getting quite different returns for their labour.

Live-out domestic workers were given different types of payments in kind. The most common extra payment given to cleaners was some form of Christmas bonus. This ranged from a box of chocolates to a sum of money equivalent to two weeks pay. Three employers said they either gave their present cleaner cast-offs or had done in the past. The value of presents such as this can be significant if employer and employee are similar sizes and have similar tastes and, most importantly, if they have children or grandchildren of the same ages. Few cleaners ate at their employer's

house but most would have a drink and maybe a small snack. One employer always left fruit for her cleaner to take home because she had noticed that she liked it. Another employer lent her cleaner money for large bills or purchases and then deducted it in instalments from her wages, so acting like a bank, she explains:

> Employer 2
> There have been various times when I advance her money, so I act as a loan bank, like when they bought a fridge. So instead of the Social Fund, which wasn't going to work, I bought the fridge and then took so much off her weekly wages ... She once said "I've got a bill coming up, do you mind paying me double this week and not next week?" and that's fine.

The ability of employers to lend money or give away desirable cast offs is obviously a product of their relative wealth compared to that of the cleaners they employ but it is also a symptom of the type of relationship that exists between domestic workers and employers. Rather than being just an employment relationship it has elements of affectivity. Employers and employees both strive to behave like friends or relatives to one another to make the relationship more comfortable. However, because of the inherant inequality that exists between the employer and employee, even the friendliest relationship can be seen as paternalistic in nature. Behaviour such as that described above can create dependency and make the employer feel better about passing on work that they do not want to do.

Au pairs were the lowest paid workers interviewed, earning just over £1 per hour plus bed and board. Both au pairs and their employers felt that in order for the relationship not to be exploitative more had to be involved than just an exchange of labour for money. What extra was given was variously described as a "cultural exchange", or making someone "part of the family" but always had to do with aspects of the relationship beyond the work carried out. Employers who had employed both au pairs and cleaners felt that, even though au pairs were paid much less than cleaners, their relationship with them was more equal because of the intangible things the au pair received. These could include exploring London, learning English, enjoying the children or spending time with the employing family. The quote below gives one employer's version of this:

> Employer 1
> If you're going to invite somebody to essentially come and work for you in your house, you know, if we had a mansion with stables and additional whatever, then fine, you can get into contracts and job descriptions and whatever else and expect that they'll arrive and 9 o'clock in the morning and they've got their duties to do and they can go away fine that's just work. If you're living with an au pair then, for me anyway, it's crucial that that person becomes part of the whole family.

Employers saw it as important that au pairs got something more out of their time in London than just their pay. Employers tried to compensate for low pay with affectivity, steering the relationship they had with their au pairs away from a straight forward exchange of labour for money towards a familial one.

Payments in kind are an important element of the payment of many domestic workers, particularly those that live in. These payments not only supplement the workers' income but also reflect the nature of the relationship between the domestic worker and employer. The relationship goes beyond the exchange of labour for cash payments or even cash substitutes. Favours, gifts and affection are all seen to be an appropriate means of rewarding the input of the domestic worker.

Job Security and Employment Rights

Despite relatively high levels of pay and some important benefits, the domestic workers in the sample still suffered from the lack of job security and employment rights which characterise paid domestic labour around the world. Domestic workers have fewer employment rights than those working in the formal sector or for larger employers. They are also at more risk of losing their jobs due to personal disagreements than those working in less intimate contact with their employers.

Paid domestic labour is notoriously insecure. Domestic workers can lose their jobs because of changes in their employers' circumstances, as other workers could, or because of personality clashes. The intimacy of the relationship between employer and employee, and the strong degree of affectvity which characterises the relationship, makes domestic workers vulnerable if they do not get on with their employers. Employers are free to sack domestic workers if they don't like them as people and one employer in the sample admitted to doing this.

> Employer 8
> I asked my friends of names of cleaners and all were like classic cleaners. They sat and talked for hours and complained about the poor hoover and old fashioned iron, with justification. But I wasn't used to this from the au pairs ... so I fired them.
>
> We never had anyone we didn't like, or if I did I'd fire them. You know occasionally you do get someone who thinks they'll be happy and then they're not and then I'd say "You have to go" because there is just no way you want someone in the house who's not happy.

As discussed in Chapter 5, the other employers interviewed were generally uncomfortable with sacking their employees but this was not because they thought it would be wrong or unfair to do so but because they did not want to be unpleasant or to have to find another employee. As informal employees or employees of a 'small employer' domestic workers have no redress against unfair dismissal.

Paid domestic workers are denied other employment rights because they work for small employers or are employed informally. The payment of sick pay and holiday pay to domestic workers has been shown to be uneven and dependent on personal feelings. Domestic workers are not paid redundancy pay or maternity pay, may not be given maternity leave and are not covered by health and safety regulations. If European legislation is introduced to restrict the length of the working week, or if a minimum wage is introduced, it will not apply to them. Obviously these conditions are not unique to domestic workers; they affect all those employed informally, in small firms or by unscrupulous employers. Paid domestic workers are an example of the seemingly ever-increasing "flexible workforce" who are at risk of job insecurity and poor working conditions (Allen and Henry 1997).

Who Pays?

In the previous chapter, the discussion of hiring practices revealed that in employing families it was almost exclusively the women who were involved in the finding and selection of domestic workers. These women were also responsible for paying the domestic workers they employed. In all the employing households which comprised single people (Employers 3, 5, 9, and 13) these people obviously paid their own cleaners. Employers 2, 6, 7 and 10 were married women with their own income which was seen as separate from their husbands'. These women all paid the domestic workers they employed from their own money. In other words, except in one case (Employer 1), whenever it was possible for women to take financial responsibility for domestic workers this was done.

When asked, these women did not particularly perceive housework to be their responsibility, but their action in paying their domestic employee belies this. For example one employer stated:

> Employer 7
> I don't feel that hoovering or washing baths is my job at all.

Employer 2 actually described the cleaner as replacing her husband's labour but still saw paying her as her responsibility:

> Employer 2
> I sometimes feel that what I'm buying is for him so he hasn't had to do so much over the years.

However, these women did see it as their responsibility to ensure that domestic labour was done, to provide someone to carry out tasks which have traditionally been women's work. They not only arranged for the provision of domestic labour but also paid for it out of income which they saw as their own.

How is Pay Significant?

It is the exchange of labour for payment which defines the employment relationship, making one party the employer and the other the employee. The giving of pay allows the employer to command the labour of another person, to direct it and use it for their own benefit. Yet the relationship between domestic workers and the people they work for is not a simple one and the way in which payment is organised reflects the complexity of the relationship.

Employers' lack of attention to the details of the employment arrangement, such as whether they should pay sick pay and holiday pay, illustrates both the hesitance to take on the role of an employer and their opinion of domestic work as a job. Employers in the sample were not of the opinion that their cleaners were self-employed and therefore should make their own provisions to cover these times; they had simply just never thought about whether those issues had anything to do with them. When asked, a number of the employers found it novel to consider their cleaners work for them in the same light as their own work for pay. The performance of housework by women is taken to be quite natural and normal in our society and this cultural assumption is also present when that work is done for pay. Despite the fact that employers were paying, sometimes large amounts, for this work to be done, they still failed to see it as work. Rather the domestic worker was a part of the household, important to the comfort of the family but not quite a member of it.

The importance of payments in kind, as well as cash, to the remuneration of domestic workers can further the idea that they are household members rather than just employees. Live-in domestic workers are literally household members, living alongside their employers, sometimes eating with them every day. For the au pairs in the sample the value of their room and board was substantial and more important in remunerating them for their work than the pay they were given. Thus their role as household, if not family, members was integrated entirely with their role as employees. Live-out domestic workers can also be integrated into their employer's households by the payments in kind they are given, even if these are of small financial value. A cleaner and her children may wear her employer's old clothes and she might eat their food. She not only knows her employer's household intimately, she also takes parts of it home at times.

Which family member pays for domestic work is also important in signalling where the worker fits into the family. The married women in the sample were overwhelmingly responsible for paying domestic workers if they had their own income. These women were providing someone to do housework for their families

even if they were not doing it themselves. A number of these women did not feel that housework was their job but they did see making sure it was done as their responsibility. For the domestic worker this is important as it delineates her as a replacement for a particular family member, the mother, rather than an employee of the couple.

These aspects of the way in which domestic workers are paid, the informality of arrangements, the importance of payments in kind and the position of women as employers have the effect of integrating the domestic worker into the employing household as a quasi-family member. The gendered nature of unpaid domestic labour in the family has an important impact on the way in which domestic workers are paid. The assumption that women are responsible for reproductive tasks within their own families not only motivates women who cease to carry out those tasks to pay for a replacement themselves, it also casts the paid domestic worker as a replacement mother who is carrying out tasks which are 'naturally' her responsibility rather than her job. The way in which domestic workers are employed, with few formal arrangements, payment in presents and housing, facilitates an affective relationship between employer and employee by mimicking familial as well as employment relationships. It makes employment comfortable to the employer by producing a paternalistic relationship, one that is friendly, but ultimately one that does not challenge gender and class inequalities.

Work Carried Out by Domestic Workers

In exchange for payment domestic workers perform reproductive work for their employers. Few studies have examined what work is actually transferred to the employee, how these tasks are selected and whether they have any significance. All employers interviewed were asked for details about what their domestic employees did and all the domestic workers interviewed were asked which tasks they carried out. It was found that there was a degree of variation in the tasks performed which depended not only on how much help was employed but also on the tasks preferred of the employer. Many employers found it difficult to detail the tasks done by their employees, implying that the work was invisible to those paying for it.

Gregson and Lowe (1994) found that employers preferred child care related tasks to other forms of housework and would try to do these tasks themselves. They argued that other forms of housework, such as cleaning, were of lower status because of their association with dirt. In their study they found that the tasks carried out varied by the number of times a week a cleaner worked for a particular employer but that generally the same tasks were done in each house (Gregson and Lowe 1994 p210). This study

found greater variation in the tasks domestic workers were asked to do and variations in the number of hours a week that employers had help for.

How Much Work is Paid For?

Employers interviewed were buying in very different amounts of domestic help, from 1.5 to 53 hours a week. Those employers who had the most help were employing child carers and cleaners. The number of hours of childcare that was employed related to the amount of care that could not be covered by family members. The number of hours cleaners were employed for was harder to explain; it did not seem to be related to the amount of free time employers had. Table 6.1 below summarises findings on how much domestic labour was employed.

Table 6.1 Volume of Help Employed by Interviewees

Employer	Help Employed	Household members' participation in employment	Housework done by family members
1	Au pair 25 h.p.w.	Both parents employed full-time	Some by both parents and oldest child
2	Childcarer 10 h.p.w. Cleaner 11 h.p.w.	Father employed f/t mother employed 2 evenings p.w.	Some by mother.
3	Cleaner 4 h. p.w..	All members employer f/t	All members do some housework.
4	Cleaner 3 h.p.w.	Both retired	Some by woman
5	Cleaner 3 h.p.w.	Father employed f/t/ Mother employed occasionally p/t/	Some by mother
6	Cleaner 6 h.p.w.	Full time	Some
7	Nanny 44 h.p.w. Cleaner 9 h.p.w.	Father f/t mother 4 days p.w.	some by mother
8	Cleaner 6 h.p.w.	Father f/t/ mother p/t irregular hours.	some by mother.
9	Cleaner 3 h.p.w.	full time	Some
10	Au pair 35 h.p.w. Cleaner 3 h.p.w.	Father f/t mother 3 mornings a week	Some by mother
11	Cleaner 9 h.p.w.	Father f/t/	Some by mother
12	Cleaner 1.5 h.p.w.	Both retired	Some by both
13	Cleaner 3 h.p.w.	P/T irregular hours	some

The amount of help employed for housework can only be explained as a product of employers' reluctance to do that work, coupled with their ability to pay someone else to do it. This will then be mediated by such things as size of house and lifestyle which may create more housework. Employers who are able to pay for help may be more prepared to adopt a lifestyle which creates work than those who cannot.

> Employer 2
> It's a difficult house to clean. It's full of books, it's full of pictures, it's got stairs, old tiles...
>
> Employer 11
> We do tend to have clean clothes every day, a terrible modern thing, you know, everything is always clean. Nobody ever wears trousers twice, or shirts or underwear. So it's like a Chinese laundry. And also I don't necessarily tend to buy things that don't need ironing.

These employers did not see cleaning as "their job"; they had been raised in houses where help was employed and had been able to pay for help all their adult lives. Their decision to employ help for many hours a week is a product of their class situation now and in the past. They were prepared to adopt a lifestyle that created domestic work because they were confident that they would be able to afford to pay someone else to do that work. They assumed that domestic labour in their homes would fall to others and incorporated this assumption into choices about such things as housing or clothes.

Which Jobs are Passed On?

Child care

Child care was the work that employers were most anxious to do for themselves. Child care was employed in three forms by members of the sample: a full-time, live-out nanny, live-in part-time au pairs and a child carer who worked two evenings a week in return for a rent-free flat. All forms of child care were employed to provide cover while parents were working, in other words to do work which it was impossible for parents to do. All the child carers in the sample picked up children from school or nursery and cared for those, and sometimes other, children until their parents returned home from work. Only one au pair was involved in child care while the parents were in the house and that was normally to mind a baby while his mother cooked. Generally parents, or more precisely mothers, were anxious to do as much child care themselves as possible.

Housework

Gregson and Lowe (1994) argued that the cleaners in their sample were employed to do very similar tasks in all houses. If they worked in a house for one session a week (3-4 hours), they would carry out "basic/essential tasks" which included vacuuming,

cleaning the kitchen (surfaces, floors, oven/hob and cupboards)' and cleaning the bathroom, bedrooms and windows. If the cleaner came for two sessions a week she would also do washing and ironing and "secondary tasks" such as polishing furniture, floors, silver and brass and cleaning ornaments (Gregson and Lowe 1994, Table 7.1 p210).

This study found much more variety in the tasks that were performed for each employer. It was found that generally employers each had one job which was important to them to have done but that they themselves hated doing. For a number this was ironing but for others it varied from hoovering the stairs (four flights) to cleaning the kitchen floor or polishing the brass on the front door. Only one of the employers interviewed did their own ironing all the time. The others passed it on to their cleaner or au pair and one employer sent it out. Ironing was found to be the task that most employers wanted to be able to pass on. It was seen as being time-consuming and unending. One employer did her own hoovering even though she employed a cleaner nine hours a week but all the others also passed this on. All the employers liked their employee to clean the bathroom(s) and kitchen but, unlike those in Gregson and Lowe's sample, would not have the kitchen cupboards and oven cleaned every week. Jobs like that, and cleaning out the fridge, were done from time to time, often when the employer was away. Two employers said their cleaner changed the beds and one said hers cleaned the downstairs windows and even washed the car. Washing was the task which was least likely to be passed on even if the cleaner came in more than once a week. The nanny washed the children's clothes but none of the adults' in her employer's house. One cleaner and one au pair did washing.

Attitudes towards carrying out childcare and housework were quite different amongst employers interviewed. Childcare was not seen to be a burden by mothers and paid care was seen as a necessity to enable them to work rather than a preferential arrangement to carrying out all care themselves. Housework, on the other hand, was transferred to cleaners out of choice by most employers. Even those who were now physically unable to do all their own housework had employed help when this was not the case. The tasks cleaners did were tailored to the particular desires of the employer. Employers asked their cleaners to do a variety of jobs, always including the particular tasks they liked least.

The Invisibility of Paid Domestic Labour

Often the amount of work done by domestic workers was invisible to, or played down by, employers. This was apparent in a number of ways. First, employers who were not at home when their domestic workers came often expressed the idea that the number of hours of work being paid for was not being done. However, when the

tasks performed by the cleaner were detailed the amount of work was considerable. The quote below illustrates the most extreme case of this, a household of four young men employed a cleaner for four hours a week. One member describes the cleaner,

> Employer 3
> She thought she was on a complete winner because I'm sure she didn't work for four hours. What she did was fantastic though. we left the place in a complete tip, by Wednesday of each week the house was a disaster and she'd come in and she'd clean up all the kitchen, the living room the bathrooms and so on and I think she probably knocked through it in two and a half or three hours and be out of the house. No one was ever supervising her. ... She did all the communal rooms, the living room the kitchen with a sort of a dining room bit on the end, the hallway, the stairs there was a bathroom and also a separate toilet room as well. ... In the kitchen there hadn't been any washing up done for four or five days so there was just piles along and obviously no cleaning was ever done to anything like the cooker or the fridge or the grill or anything like that. Basically she'd do all the washing up that was left, there was also lots of take-away bags kicking around so obviously get rid of all those, clean all the surfaces, give the place a scrub. Then in the living room they'd be loads of papers lying around, tidy it up, give it a hoover get rid of any old mugs lying around. Then obviously the bathroom would always be a bit of a state so she'd do all that, get the Dettol out, or whatever it is. She always left it really nice. ... Also if you timed it right and did your washing for the day before she came in and you were organised she'd iron your shirts as well.

Although the employer is very appreciative of the cleaner, the work done is still perceived not to be very time-consuming. Employers who did appreciate the work their cleaners did or how well tasks were performed often did so because they could compare successful arrangements with those which were unsatisfactory.

The trend for employers to assume that housework did not take their cleaners much time seemed to contradict employers' views on how arduous the same tasks were when they did them themselves. Employers who were prepared to pay a cleaner in order to free up leisure time simultaneously thought that doing the cleaning did not take the cleaner very long.

Other ways in which domestic work was down played were by the use of words such as "just" or "only" to describe tasks done. Also, some employers found it difficult to recount what their domestic workers did and each specific task had to be asked about for a complete list to be assembled. The comments below are from a nanny in a household where a cleaner is also employed, and her employer. Each was asked what the nanny actually did, first the employer,

> Employer 7
> She does the kids clothes... during the week she'll do the kids clothes and the kids ironing and pretty much keeps things tidy, and stuff like that. It's pretty hard work looking after two children.

The nanny saw her role quite differently. She explained that alongside the child care she is paid for she acts as go-between with the cleaner and employer and had to run the house while lots of building work and redecoration was being done. She also has to order food and organise receiving deliveries of basics and anything else that is coming for the house. In her words,

> Employee 8
> Basically, I do bloody everything. I mean, I do everything. They might not see it as everything. I cook for the kids, I do their toys, I take them to school, I feed them, I entertain them, I take them to, for example, one morning it was log cabin, another it was one o'clock club, the next it will be a friends house the next morning it might be swimming. Basically it's constant. I used to do a lot more but I put my foot down and stopped doing that. ... I'd do a bit of washing or tidying but once you start doing things it gets a bit taken for granted.

This nanny was unusual in her assessment of her work. Most domestic workers shared their employers' ways of describing the tasks that they did. Generally the cleaners and au pairs also played down the work that they did and appeared to find it difficult to enumerate all the tasks done. Below is a response from a cleaner asked to describe what tasks she actually does,

> Employee 7
> Errmm, it's just general cleaning basically, cleaning floors, you know. .... It's basically straight forward ... clean the cupboards, clean the floors, you know, bathrooms and that.

The perception that domestic work is non-work or unskilled work is common to both domestic workers and their employers, even when those workers are relatively well paid. The low status of housework, as a reproductive occupation, performed for free by family members, carries over when those tasks are performed by an employee for pay. For the worker, the fact that she does the same tasks in her own home without being paid means she also has a tendency not to think of domestic work as work.

Reproductive labour is particularly invisible when carried out by women because of a perception that it is their 'natural' role, that they are good at it and know how to do it. This serves to make domestic work appear as unskilled and easy when done by female domestic workers. Comments about male domestic workers by a number of the employers interviewed illustrate this. Male domestic workers were thought to be more 'professional' than women and generally better at the job. A number of employers stated that they positively wanted a male cleaner but people were less happy with the idea of a male au pair. Men were thought to be riskier to have living in the house but better at coming in and cleaning. Men who had chosen to take on domestic work were supposed to have a professional attitude towards it whereas women cleaners were always described as "just doing it for the money." This

distinction shows clearly that domestic labour carried out by women is often not seen as work just because of the gender of the worker. The invisibility of reproductive labour to capitalism, something that is outside its realm, not valued and therefore not paid for, is passed on to the paid domestic worker. Her labour is invisible because of the intrinsically low value placed on reproductive labour in capitalist society.

Analysis of the work done by paid domestic workers reveals much about the gender and class structures that influence the sector. The assumption that reproductive labour is women's work disguises the importance of that work even when it is paid for. Simultaneously, class differences between employers and employees, even when both are women, mediate this responsibility for domestic labour, allowing better off women to transfer the work to those they can afford to pay. Employers passed on a variety of different tasks to their employees. Child care was overwhelmingly carried out by employers if they could do it themselves but housework was less popular. Generally, employers had a set of tasks that they wanted their employees to do and these would include all the tasks they least liked themselves. The amount of work which different households paid for was a product of the child care needs, their wealth and the expectations of the mother. Women who did not see cleaning as their job, particularly those who had been brought up with servants, bought in most help. Last, the amount of work that was being done by domestic workers was invisible to some employers. Absentee employers were suspicious that their employees did not work the number of hours they were paid for and others found it hard to name all the tasks done by their employees. When housework is done by women it is seen as a natural activity rather than a job and is therefore less visible to those it is done for.

Negotiating Work Practices

The work of domestic employees is negotiated carefully. Employers monitor the work done and control its performance by making requests. Employees can then resist or co-operate with this. Monitoring and control by employers are limited and often found to take the form of friendly requests. Employers took care to be very polite to cleaners and would restrict au pairs by using parental-type control. Resistance by employees was rarely practical in nature but rather was psychological, to repel the feelings engendered by the work they did. Cleaners exerted their autonomy or stressed their own importance within their employers' lives, while au pairs concentrated on the temporary nature of their positions. The negotiation of work practices involved both the affective and employment facets of the relationship between employer and employee.

Monitoring and Control

The exchange of labour for payment is the basis of the employment relationship. At a day-to-day level that relationship has to be negotiated through monitoring or control by the employer and compliance or resistance of the employee. This negotiation is delicate, taking place in an intimate space between people who are striving to have a friendly relationship. Most domestic employers are unskilled or inexperienced in management and domestic workers are isolated from other workers. This study found that much more control was exerted over au pairs than cleaners. Au pairs' general behaviour as well as their work was controlled by employers. Few employers exerted any control, or even had much contact with their cleaners, but au pairs were subject to 'house rules' and were more often directed in their work. It was also found that, as with pay, it was women who negotiated the work practices of their domestic employees. Male household members took little or no active part in cleaner or au pair employment.

Much of the existing literature on paid domestic workers has portrayed live-in domestic workers as subjected to strict control by their employers. Anderson (1993) has described the enslavement of foreign domestic workers in Britain. She found the lives and the labour of these workers to be highly controlled. Many were working very long hours and were unable to leave their employer's house at any time. Throughout the world live-in domestic workers face a high level of intervention from their employers. Their work is directed on a daily, if not an hourly, basis and their life outside work is restricted by the rules of their employers. Many studies have shown the position of young, live-in domestic workers facing restriction by their employers both as employees and surrogate "daughters" (Young 1987; Radcliffe 1990; Gill 1994). These studies have argued that for young, migrant women the hierarchies of age, gender and race in the societies they live in are used as part of the employer's negotiation strategy. The semi-integration of the worker into the household makes her labour become the 'natural' behaviour of any woman in a household, whilst her position as 'daughter' rather than adult and inferiority in terms of ethnicity are used to restrict her freedoms and exclude her from full membership in the family.

Gregson and Lowe (1994) found that cleaners experienced much greater autonomy than nannies in their work. They argue that this is due to the fact that "The ideological construction of motherhood and mothering shapes nanny employment ...[while] the social connotations which pervade the activity of cleaning ensure that this form of waged domestic labour is characterised by worker autonomy" (p 215).

The social relations of nanny employment are, they argue, dominated by false kinship relations which enable nanny employment to become a form of mother substitution. The nanny, therefore, is in close contact with the family, sometimes living in, and her work is negotiated with the family much more than that of the cleaner. Gregson and Lowe (1994) also argue that it is necessary for cleaners to remain autonomous in order that they preserve their self-worth whilst doing a stigmatised job. This study found cleaners to have more autonomy than au pairs, but rather than an ideology of mothering shaping the conditions of employment of au pairs, it was their live-in status and everything that proximity to the family brought with it that was important.

Au pairs

Au pairs were subject to monitoring and control both as employees and as household members. The au pairs interviewed generally had a routine of work established so they were not negotiating work practices with their employers on a day-to-day basis. However, all these routines included carrying out at least some tasks at particular times, to fit in with child care, so the labour of the au pair was still controlled. Living arrangements were subject to house rules which differed between families. These rules delineated the relationship of the au pair to the rest of the family, integrating her into it to a greater or lesser extent.

All the au pairs interviewed had some sort of routine which they carried out during the week. When they first arrived the routine was established by the employer but once working the au pair was generally left to get on with it. Employee 2 sums this up:

> RC And how do you choose which jobs to do on which days?
> EE2 Well she does the washing on certain days and then I have the ironing afterwards.
> RC And do you discuss it with her? Or does she tell you?
> EE2 It's more of a routine nowadays. In the beginning she told me what I'm supposed to do but now if I feel like it I can skip the ironing and do it later, that type of thing.

The routine was generally based around the child care needs of the employing family and the working hours of the mother. The au pairs also spent a certain number of hours a week doing less routine tasks under the direction of their employers. These could include cooking, baby-sitting or infrequent cleaning tasks. Some employers specified a set number of hours on particular days when the au pair would be asked to help while other employers asked as and when the need arose. The flexibility of these routines varied between households depending on the rigidity of child care routines and the demands of the au pairs' English classes. Employee 2 had the greatest flexibility because she was not attending classes and only had to pick up children three days a week. Employee 3 had the least flexibility because she cared

for a baby every morning and every evening. Although left alone most of the time once a routine was established, the labour of au pairs was relatively highly controlled by their employers. Au pairs did not make decisions about which jobs should be done on which days or when non-routine tasks should be done.

Au pairs were also subject to rules concerning their behaviour generally, rather than just with regard to their work. All the employers interviewed had certain house rules that au pairs were subject to which covered such things as visits by guests and use of the house. The existence of these rules and the areas they covered exposed one of the contradictions of au pair employment. The rules often limited the au pair's interaction with the family, thus making her more like an employee and less like a family member. Simultaneously the imposition of such rules resembled the kind of control that is exerted over teenage children.

Employing families varied in the strictness of control they exerted over the au pairs they employed. Employer 1 asked only that their au pair tell them if she was bringing friends around or if she was going to be out overnight. The au pair was free to use all the communal rooms in the house and to bring friends for meals or to stay the night including boyfriends. Other au pair employers did not like their au pairs to sit in the living room with the family in the evening, as Employer 10 explains:

> They don't sit in here [the living room], that's just about my only house rule. They've got a nice bedroom and in the evenings we go our separate ways.

This employer was happy for her au pair to have friends around for meals and to stay the night and her current au pair had had her boyfriend to stay for a week soon after she started. Other employers were more restrictive about visitors, particularly men. Employer 8 had employed au pairs in the past. On the subject of male visitors she stated:

> Employer 8
> I had very strict rules about that. Any number of girls could come to the house but no boys.

Employee 3 felt very uncomfortable about having any visitors. She had been told that she was not allowed to have friends around in the evenings when she was baby-sitting even if the children were asleep. She had asked if her sister could stay when visiting England and been refused. She had never asked if she could have guests at other times but did not want to ask because of her employer's position on these two previous occasions.

These house rules are important in delineating the au pair's relationship to her employer's family. The strictness of some employers simultaneously casts the au pair

as a juvenile without rights like a teenage child, and less than a family member, excluded from communal spaces. Employers were aware of the importance of house rules in shaping the relationship they had with their au pairs.

> Employer 1
> Often unwittingly you do assume, no matter how much you don't want to, you do assume a degree of moral guardianship of the person who's staying with you. For example, if any of them wanted to stay out we've always said "That's no problem if you want to stay out at the weekend that's great." I love it when they stay out, "but please can you just let me know."
>
> If you're living with an au pair then, for me anyway, it's crucial that that person becomes part of the whole family. And therefore the first words is "anything that is in here" - and this is quite genuine - "is yours." So it could be the fridge, the TV or whatever. You cannot bring somebody in and say "Don't come into the lounge if we're in the lounge. Don't use the kitchen if we're in there."
>
> Employer 8
> I always gave them a big room and I gave them a telly and I'd say to them :If ever we're in the sitting room don't feel free to come in." Whereas lots of people say, you know the au pair deal is that they're supposed to be part of the family and I'd say "you're not." If you want a buddy buddy family then we're not the family for you.

Radcliffe (1990) and Young (1987) have both examined the importance of this type of treatment to the relationship between a domestic worker and her employer. In studies of domestic workers in Latin America the ethnic hierarchy that denigrates the status of indigenous women is an active influence within the domestic employment relationship that enhances that ability of the employer to infantalise the employee. In London the dependency that comes from recent immigration may have the same role. Au pairs are more vulnerable than locals of the same age. They are new to and alone in a very large, and sometimes intimidating, city. They do not speak English as their first language and depend on their employers for both home and work. This facilitates their treatment as minors and dependants, subject to control both inside and outside work. Imposing rules about use of space, visitors and behaviour during time off on a live-in domestic worker negates her status as an adult and an equal outside work. The work relationship then takes place in a setting where the worker is not only an employee but also cast as a child by the employer's rules. However, the domestic worker does not become "like a daughter" (Young 1987) to her employers, as the above quotes show.

Cleaners

Cleaners were subject to much less control and monitoring than au pairs. Many of them hardly ever saw their employers and those employers who did meet their cleaners were watchful of how they talked to them about their work. Few employers were prepared to criticise their cleaners, even when they were unhappy, and generally only interfered in their routine to ask them to do specific non-routine tasks.

All the employers interviewed were happy to go out and leave their cleaner unsupervised. Most of the employers were normally out when their cleaners came and one employer had actually only met his cleaner on two occasions. This lack of contact necessitates autonomous behaviour on the part of the cleaner. She is free to do tasks in the order she wants and sometimes to leave one job and do another. Some employers admitted that they would not notice if the cleaner did not do a particular job one week and would have no way of knowing how long she stayed in the house.

Absentee employers communicated with their cleaners by leaving notes. Normally they would only do this if a particular job needed doing. Employers were careful to phrase notes in polite and undemanding terms, Employer 5 encapsulates this:

RC Who decides what she'll do on a particular day or a particular week?
ER5 Well, she does now, but if I want something special done I will write it down.
RC You'll leave a note saying " I've noticed this can you do it?"
ER5 No, no you wouldn't say I've noticed this needs doing, that would be quite wrong. You'd say, "If you have the time.."
RC But other than that she'll just have a look around and see what kitchen stuff needs doing or what cupboards need cleaning out and just get on with it without telling you?
ER5 Yah.

Employers who were in the house when their cleaners came did exert more control over them and were more likely to monitor their work and make specific requests. These employers were still unhappy about intervening and were careful to be polite as the following quotes show:

Employer 4
I don't like correcting her, but if I don't point things out she doesn't do them.

Employer 6
What I always say is "I would much rather you did this floor really thoroughly and the stairs and the back room and leave the rest." But, you know, she never does, she does the same things every week, not terribly thoroughly.

Employer 10
I've just noticed those windows are grubby and when she's in here I'll say "would you mind cleaning the windows." And I might ask her to do the downstairs windows where the kids put their fingers, and I might say "can you make sure you give the oven a thorough clean." But that's because I've picked up that unless I am actually quite specific it won't get done.

These employers are monitoring their cleaners' work much more closely than those who are out of the house. They are also exerting more control over their cleaners' labour by regularly making requests for specific jobs to be done. However, this monitoring and control are both within the context of the relative autonomy of the cleaner. She has an established routine and employers phrase requests for work

beyond that as if a favour is being asked even though the work will be done within the time which is paid for.

Gregson and Lowe (1994) argue that cleaner autonomy is an important counter measure to the stigma attached to work with personal dirt. Cleaners assert their autonomy and employers accept this assertion in order to lessen this stigma. As important as this might be, there is a material as well as an ideological basis for cleaner autonomy. In Hampstead cleaners were able to exert their autonomy because it was seen to be a "sellers market". Employers sometimes had real difficulty finding cleaners and were careful not to lose a cleaner once they had found one they liked. This geographical difference in the relative power of cleaners within the employment relationship is also illustrated by the fact that the cleaners interviewed by Gregson and Lowe in Reading and Newcastle-upon-Tyne had often never received a pay rise and were low paid, whereas those in Hampstead were relatively well paid and were given rises, either by asking for them or because their employers suggested it.

Women were actively involved as employers in negotiating work practices with their employees. As with paying for help and recruiting domestic workers, male family members were almost entirely uninvolved. Women would decide what needed doing and would communicate with the cleaner or au pair even if they were at home just as little as their husbands. The married women in the sample all saw themselves as responsible for organising the provision of domestic labour even if they did not do it themselves or pay for help out of their own money.

Au pairs and cleaners were subject to different levels of monitoring and control whilst carrying out paid domestic work. Au pairs were constrained by more rigid routines based around the demands of child care within the employing family. Au pairs were also controlled by the employers when not working. House rules extended their employers' power beyond the working day and into their private lives. The existence of these rules is an important component of the relationship between au pairs and their employers. The employers' authority is founded not only on the wage relation but also on the infantalisation of the au pair. Cleaners worked with relative autonomy after a routine was established. Control was generally only imposed on cleaners when employers wanted particular tasks carried out. Absentee employers hardly monitored the work of their cleaners at all while those who had closer contact with their cleaners were more likely to notice what was done. All cleaner employers were careful with their employees and were polite if they asked for particular jobs to be done.

Resistance

In response to employers monitoring and control of their work, domestic workers display contrasting levels of co-operation and resistance. Resistance can be either psychological or practical in nature and takes many forms. In Latin America the resistance of domestic workers has been organised into a union which campaigns for employment rights (de Melo 1989; Goldsmith 1989) and an International Day of Domestic Workers has been established (Bradley 1997). Resistance can also include rejecting employers' notions of appropriate behaviour and exerting control over the labour process. The resistance of domestic workers interviewed ranged from planning to leave the job to trying not to think about it. Domestic workers were resisting both the stigma attached to the job and the conditions in which they worked.

The low status of paid domestic labour as an occupation threatens to undermine the self respect of those who do it. A number of writers have explored the strategies that domestic workers adopt to resist this stigmatisation. Cohen (1991) and Colen (1989) have both highlighted the importance of friendship networks of domestic workers as a source of support and mutual reaffirmation. Gregson and Lowe (1994) have argued that the cleaners they interviewed resisted the stigma of cleaning by exercising their autonomy, being late for work, or not turning up and tolerating little intervention in their work practices.

The cleaners in this sample had two contrasting methods of resisting the stigma attached to doing such a low status job. The first was to feel sympathy with their employers and to see their work as important to those people's lives and the second was to assert control within the relationship. Employees 1 and 7 looked upon their work as important and saw themselves as helpful to their employers. Employee 1 even said that she found her private cleaning job inconvenient but would not leave her employer after such a long time. In this way she is elevating her own standing above that of her employer who, she believes, could not cope without her. A number of employers complained that their cleaners did not give them much notice if they were going away, arrived late or were unreliable. These are all traits that Gregson and Lowe (1994) see as being characteristic of resistance to the stigma of domestic work. Cleaners could also exert control over the labour process and thereby gain greater equality with their employers:

> Employer 3
> She was sort of, um, didn't take any hassle or stuff. If you were around when she was cleaning up you had to get out of the way sharpish.

Employer 5
She would tell me exactly what needed doing and exactly the things that weren't up to scratch and exactly how she wanted to do things and how she'd been a housekeeper in this house for so long and today she was only going to spend two and a half hours doing it because that was all it needed.

Au pairs resisted the stigma attached to paid domestic work by stressing the temporary nature of their posts. In this way they were able to feel that they were not really au pairs but students.

Employee 6
In the beginning when I first picked up [the youngest daughter] from school and she introduced me to her friends as "this is my new au pair" and I thought, "I'm not an au pair, I'm a Ph.D. student!" But now, I'm like, I can accept the title of an au pair because I know that what I do is not what I thought an au pair would be.

Employee 2
RC How does it make you feel doing housework for somebody else?
EE2 It doesn't really worry me, it was my own choice and it's only for a while. I mean if this would be my future job I wouldn't like it at all but this is just for a while.

The one nanny who was interviewed was proud of her work but resisted being absorbed into her employer's household. She felt that she was taken for granted and had ceased to exist in their eyes as a person beyond her role as their nanny. She felt that she was not accorded the respect that would have come with a different post. She said:

Employee 8
Even though I love the kids dearly, I mean, this is sort of as the years have gone on, even though I know I've got that much respect for them and on the whole we do really get on, but at the end of the day they sometimes forget that I am somebody and I have got my own life. You know they think that everything revolves around them, but then again, that's in the nannying ... I wouldn't even dare to consider telling them what my plans are or what I hoped to achieve because I noticed it's not important. It's, you know, their life is important.

The following story illustrates the way in which Employee 8 has become part of her employer's household to an extent that is unacceptable to her:

She leaves a list of beers and stuff and they deliver in bulk. And there was, um, at the end of the list, a box of Tampaxs. And I literally freaked. Because anybody would say "what's the big deal with a box of Tampaxs?" But to me, at the end of the day I'm looking after two kids, I do everything in the house, I order everything. For god's sake, it's your own personal thing! Can't you at least go to Boots and bloody well get your own Tampaxs? Do you need a nanny to order you a box of bloody Tampaxs?

The story is interesting because it shows that Employee 8 is not only offended at being asked to do a task that she feels is not part of her job as a nanny, but also because her employer has not felt embarrassed about something so personal. This

familiarity is demeaning to the employee and it shows the extent to which she is taken for granted within the household.

Psychological resistance is a strategy to cope with the attitudes of employers and the world in general towards the status of domestic work. Practical resistance can be important in resisting poor working conditions or low pay. This country has seen little organised resistance by paid domestic workers but there are attempts being made by a number of groups to organise and unionise nannies. Few of the domestic workers interviewed had taken definite actions to resist poor working conditions. Two of those interviewed had left previous employers and others asked for pay rises or increases in hours. Only Employee 8 had consistently actively resisted her employer's attempts to increase her burden of work. She has done this by refusing to do tasks that are not childcare-related and by tackling her employers over issues such as holidays and reimbursement for petrol. She has also helped the family's cleaner, who she identifies with, to improve her conditions too. Employee 3, an au pair, was planning to carry out the ultimate act of resistance and leave her employer prematurely. She worked long hours and was isolated because of her employer's rules about house guests. She felt unable to talk to them about how her experiences and so was going to leave. She said:

> Employee 3
> I don't like to be so much alone. You're just, you're working alone all the time and I think it's a pity and I don't like that. Mainly I think it's too alone here and it's too long a time and just do the same thing, everyday all the same. It's very nice for a month if you meet a lot of friends and you can see a lot of travelling but I don't think I can last a year.

Resistance is an important element of paid domestic labour. Psychological resistance helps domestic workers not to internalise the low status of their work whilst practical resistance gives domestic workers control over the labour process and can prevent their pay or conditions deteriorating. Domestic workers in Hampstead resisted the stigma attached to their work by seeing it as important or by asserting control over their labour. Au pairs were able to stress the temporary nature of their positions. Practical resistance was scarce with domestic workers electing to leave unsatisfactory employers rather than stay and argue with them.

The work practices of domestic workers were negotiated in the twin realms of the wage nexus and the familial relationship. For au pairs, who were living in, work was negotiated in an environment of intimacy with and dependence on the employer. House rules govern the au pairs' behaviour even beyond her work hours and give the employer a two-fold power, of the employer and of the quasi-parent. Resistance of the au pairs interviewed centred on concentrating on the temporary nature of their

position which enabled them to withstand this treatment. Practical resistance was reduced to leaving before the contract was over. Cleaners' work practices were less affected by fictive kin relationships with their employers although "being friendly" was still important to both parties. Cleaners were relatively autonomous in their work, particularly those who cleaned for absentee employers. Those who saw their employers regularly were subject to greater levels of monitoring but hardly more control. The strong position of cleaners in Hampstead was enhanced by their relative scarcity; employers saw cleaners as a valuable resource. Cleaners resisted their employers' control in two ways; by seeing themselves as important to their employers and with that more able than them, and by exerting control over their work themselves.

Negotiating Space

The domestic employment relationship involves the negotiation of the use of a common space as well as the negotiation of work practices. The fact that the employee's workplace is the employer's home raises a number of issues about the use of that space and creates a wide range of problems for those trying to negotiate its use. As the last section made clear, the relationship between live-in domestic workers and their employers does not end with the working day. It is carried over into the employees' free time and casts the domestic employer as employer, landlady and guardian. This unique characteristic of paid domestic work, that it takes place in the employer's home as a home, rather than a workshop or office, is immensely important to the relationship that develops between the worker and employer. The intimacy of the home space creates opportunities for intimacy between the employer and employee that are sometimes unwelcome within that relationship. This section discusses how the presence of both live-out and live-in workers in their employers' houses is negotiated. Employers' and employees' use of names and eating practices are discussed as representations of the way in which the intimate space of the home is treated within the relationship.

For many people homes are intimate, private spaces within which care and affection are experienced and the most important and personal possessions are kept. Homes are guarded to prevent the entry of strangers and people feel invaded when they are unable to control access to them. For most working people 'work' and 'home' are separate spaces, perhaps dozens of miles apart. When paid work is carried out within the home separate space is set apart for it and so the house becomes an office or workshop. Feminist writers have highlighted the importance of the separation of 'home' from 'work' in the treatment of women in society. Home is the traditional space of women in their role as mothers and carers for family members. Work is

seen to be a place quite different from this in which affective relationships are unimportant and work has financial value, unlike that carried out in the home. Paid domestic labour contravenes the home/work dichotomy as the employers' home and housework become workplace and paid work for the domestic worker. The division of labour ceases to be one between family members along gender lines and becomes one, often between women, on class lines (Graham 1991).

Coming In

Both employers and employees found the performance of paid domestic work to be intrusive. Domestic workers were sensitive to the private nature of their employers' homes and employers felt uncomfortable sharing space with the women they employed, even if they were on friendly terms. When the domestic worker lived-in the problems were exacerbated but they were present even in the cleaner/employer relationship as the following quotes show:

> Employer 5
> I feel invaded by them, which is an awful thing to say because they come to clean.

> Employee 7
> It can make them feel a bit out of place in their own homes. You know, like I'm invading their privacy.

Most employers negotiated this invasion by deliberately avoiding their cleaners. Those who worked at home or did not work went out when their cleaners were due and working employers always arranged for their cleaners to come while they were out at work.

Cleaning not only takes place in the employer's home but also involves the cleaner gaining a knowledge of it, their employer's habits and possessions that few people would ever have. This produces a type of intimacy that may or may not be reflected in the relationship between the employer and domestic worker . The comments of one employer sum up this contradiction:

> Employer 9
> Here is this woman who comes in twice a week and in some ways knows much more intimate details about my life than other people and yet I really don't know her at all and we don't communicate, and yes, I don't really sit down over a cup of tea with my cleaner and discuss the events of the day.

Employers avoided this intimacy in psychological as well as practical ways. The attitudes taken towards their cleaners and the characteristics of their cleaners that they saw as important were often those that made the cleaners most removed from themselves. The last chapter demonstrated how often employers focused on their cleaner's nationality, mentioning this before any other, perhaps more obviously

relevant, information. Employers used ethnic differences to "other" their cleaners and so exclude them from their family circle in their minds. One example of this was that all employers interviewed were asked if it would be possible to also interview their cleaner. All the employers who had a cleaner who was not English or Irish said that their cleaner did not speak very good English. Some of these cleaners had been living and working in London for decades and one, who was Filipina, had spoken English all her life, albeit with an accent her employer was not used to. Employers saw a lack of language skills as a flaw in their employees that contributed to them working in the sector and something that legitimated their cleaner's relative poverty and marginalisation. None of the employers interviewed commented on how good their cleaner's English was, given that it was a second or third language and no employers saw a lack of language skills as a result of working in a sector that involves isolation and little contact with native speakers.

Employers wanted to be on good terms with their cleaners but not to be friends with them. The intimacy that is produced by the cleaner's familiarity with the employer's home and life demanded that the relationship was comfortable and resembled a friendship. However, distance was maintained from the cleaner, both pratically and psycologically, by the employer and real intimacy was avoided by many.

Living In

When domestic workers live-in the negotiation of space becomes more complicated. The employer's home is then the employee's workplace and home as well. The role of the employer extends beyond the end of the working day and becomes confused with kin relationships. However, as the last section showed, employers do not take on the mantle of fictive motherhood happily but contest it and counter the intimacy of the live-in relationship with measures to prevent the au pairs' integration into the family.

Au pair employers all imposed rules that covered the au pair's social life in order to exert control over their space. These ranged from disallowing use of certain rooms to banning all or some visitors. The au pairs interviewed all perceived these rules to be fair and wanted to be as unobtrusive in their employers' houses as possible as these quotes illustrate:

> Employee 2
> I don't really feel like it is my house, I wouldn't say so. That's one of the things which I guess no-one really likes with the au pair work because you don't feel comfortable just taking friends home ... You have to think about what the family wants all the time and is this OK and is that OK and am I doing the right thing? Usually you go to work and then you go home but then you live with the boss all the time.

> Employee 3
> I can't have friends here so I don't usually take friends here I go to my friends there ... I think it's better for them [the employers] if I'm going out instead.

These au pairs saw their employers' restrictions on their use of the house as fair but also as a drawback of the type of work they were doing. The au pairs were unable to completely relax when they were not working because they were still in their boss' house.

Live-in domestic workers also faced problems that they did not see as fair. Two au pairs interviewed commented that living-in extended their working day. If they stayed in the house they would be asked to do things even after they were supposed to have finished work. Domestic workers can also be subsumed into their employer's family and cease to be seen as individuals in their own right. Au pairs tend to work for a family for less than a year at a time and are not as prone to this, but other domestic workers who are in a job for a longer time face this danger more . Employee 6, who had a self-contained flat in her employer's house, and Employee 8, who lived out, both said they would not have taken their jobs if they had had to live in. As Employee 8 commented:

> Having my own place ... is just a bit of sanity ... I am my own person there when I am not sort of here.

Employee 1 had lived with her first British employers for 9 years and describes the pitfalls of becoming "like a daughter".

> They were quite nice, they were like my parents, but at the end of the day they don't want me to get married or, day off was half a day Wednesday and some of Saturdays, but then they don't want me to go out, you know, and stay in with them and have some supper with them. I think that's no life, I'm still young.

The fuzzy boundary between home and work that exists for live-in domestic workers creates these problems. Some domestic workers are rarely away from their employer's home and are therefore hardly ever off duty. They may also cease to be seen as having an existence outside the employing family and are expected to look to the needs of their employers first and, at worst, always.

Au pair employers found the relationship with their au pairs problematic and uncomfortable. They generally disliked having someone who was not a member of the family living in the house. When the relationship was poor employers found the situation distressing. The contradiction between the roles of employer and fictive mother was a source of stress for most au pair employers. The intimacy created by the au pair living in the family home pressured employers to take on a motherly role that they were unhappy with. The two quotes below illustrate this:

Employer 8
When you come home and they're clanking around the kitchen and then they stomp into the room and shut the door your instinct is to comfort them. But you can't, because whatever the problem it's not your scope, you can't do much about it. She's there to clean your house basically and I'm not going to be a mother.

Employer 10
It's like having another teenager to look after you know.

Only one employer said that she missed not having an au pair; others were actively looking for other solutions to their childcare needs even if those solutions were more expensive. All of the employers expressed the desire not to have an au pair in terms of "getting the house back." Au pair employers felt that even the best au pair, someone who was good with the children, flexible and a nice person, was a strain to have around.

When an au pair did not work out, was unhappy or bad at the job, employers found it even more intrusive. The fictive mother relationship broke down when au pairs were bad at the job or inflexible. When employers where unhappy with their au pair's work, they were not able to become friends with them and so this employer strategy for coping with the intimacy of sharing the house was not available. Unhappy au pairs also put a strain on the employer/mother role. A homesick au pair simultaneously denies the employer as parent and provider of "home" and demands affective care and attention. Employer 8 quoted above, sacked her unhappy au pairs. Employer 11 wished that she had, she commented:

It was having an 18 year old, you know, of your own. You know, she needed TLC all the time .. she was so sad I got very fed up with having her.

Employers found themselves unable to make friends with, or surrogate daughters of, au pairs who were bad at the job thus lessening the affective component of the relationship, whereas an unhappy au pair stresses the affective nature that is present in the relationship and makes demands on the employer to fill a mother role that they are not entirely happy with.

However, the fictive kin relationship between employer and au pair does have benefits for the employer. It gives her extra responsibilities towards her au pair but also extra power. As the employer takes on the status of mother the employee becomes a child. This infantalisation is enhanced by the au pair's immigrant status; she is new to London, without certain knowledge, friends or command of English and is much more dependent than otherwise. The employer is able to treat her as if she was much younger than she really is, imposing rules that are more common for young teenagers than women in their early 20s. This infantalisation spills over into the work relationship that takes place in the same space. The work relationship has

its roots in the negotiation of the home/work space in parent/child terms. The au pair cannot go home at the end of a working day but neither can she go out to work to get away from her juvenile status .

Use of Names

Everyone interviewed was asked what they called the person they worked for or who worked for them. Names provide information about the relationship between the people using them. Familiarity indicates a close and friendly relationship while formality is more common between people who do not know each other or where there is some sort of inequality. Names place people in positions relative to each other and signal those positions to others. For those interviewed, names were important in establishing the degree of familiarity that was to be assumed in the relationship. The names used by employers and employees illustrate how the home/work space is negotiated as intimacy and distance are carefully balanced.

All the domestic workers interviewed or employed by employers in the sample were called by their first names, although some had been called Mrs - when they started in that position. Employers fell into three categories in terms of what they were called, those that used first names, those that used last names and those that began with last names and switched to first names after a number of years. Employers that were always called by their first names were clear that this was an important element of not behaving like an employer while those who used last names were equally deliberate in preserving some distance. The following quotes illustrate these positions:

> Employer 11
> I would never want to be called Mrs, I would find that ridiculous.

> Employer 9
> I suppose I would prefer it in a way because it keeps them sort of distant and I suppose it reinforces the status, doesn't it?

Employers who had changed from being called by their last name to their first did so after they had had the same cleaner for some time and so the decision to change was a signal about the degree of intimacy that had been established during that time.

Employers and employees both stated that age was an important element in choosing names. Employee 1 would not call her employer (Employer 13) by her first name despite being asked to because of the age difference between them. Employers also thought that older domestic workers would be called by their last names and three of the employers interviewed had cleaners in the past who were older women and were called Mrs Whatever.

All au pair employers were unequivocal in their desire to use first names with the women who lived in their houses. However, two of the employers interviewed commented that this was not the case with all au pair employers. Employer 1 said that she used the names used by au pairs in previous positions as a guide to the type of job they were looking for and an indication of whether they would fit in in their families. If an au pair had been happy to call her former employer "Mrs -" or referred to her employer as "My lady" then Employer 1 assumed she would not be happy in an informal household like her own. Employer 8 commented that in the past friends of her own au pairs who were employed by other families often asked her for advice on what they should call their employers.

Names are a way in which familiarity is both negotiated and indicated. Employers could choose to draw their employees towards them or keep them distant by being called by their first or last names respectively. All the domestic workers in the sample were called by their first names but the employers would have been prepared to call older women by their last names. Use of formal appellation denotes both respect and lack of familiarity. Employers are seen to be accorded respect by employees unless the employees have won respect due to their age. Employers may choose familiarity and use of first names over the respect denoted by formal appellation and so negotiate the type of relationship they want to have with their domestic employees.

Food and Eating

Conventions about food and eating are other ways in which the negotiation of the home/work space is exhibited. Employers can draw their employees towards them by eating with them or offering food and can repulse them by not sharing food sociably. Food is a more important part of the au pair's relationship with her employers than the cleaner's. Au pairs are meant to be treated like members of the family and would be expected to eat with their employers but this does not always happen. Cleaners appeared to be reluctant to eat at their employers' houses even when invited to do so perhaps as a way of asserting their professionalism or independence..

None of the cleaners in the sample ate a meal in their employers' houses even if they were there over midday. All the employers interviewed said they offered their cleaners drinks and food but few ever accepted. One of the cleaners interviewed said she just wanted to get on with her work and so did not like to eat. One employer commented that not accepting food helped to keep a barrier between him and his cleaner, he stated:

Employer 9
I always say, you know "Do you want a coffee?" or leave it out ... but generally, in some ways I think the current one feels like I do somehow, in terms of the barrier. She doesn't really want, she's come here to do a job, which she does sort of efficiently, and then goes away.

Eating is seen to break down the formality of the work place and cleaners appear to be unwilling to do this. Not eating at their employers' houses helps them to maintain their professionalism.

Au pairs live in their employers' houses and therefore have to eat there but they may or may not eat with their employers. Of the au pairs interviewed, Employees 4 and 5 ate with their employing families, Employee 2 ate with the children and mother but not the father of the family and Employee 3 always ate alone. Where the children ate separately from one or both parents, au pairs ate with the children rather than the parents. Patterns of eating indicate whether the au pair is integrated into the family and whether she is treated like a child. Eating with employers also decreases the formality of the relationship as Employer 10 illustrates:

My sister in law just got a new au pair and she says she will never sit down at the table with them at mealtimes. She used to potter around the kitchen until eventually my sister in law had a word with her and said "You can't do this. You're behaving as though you're my servant, you won't sit down at the table with me. Even if you don't want to have dinner sit down at the table and have a drink."

Eating with someone implies equality with them and friendliness. For Employee 3, who was very isolated within her job, having to eat alone was yet another way in which she was restricted by her employers and not treated as an equal.

One employer who had employed au pairs in the past stated that eating and the type of food eaten were important parts of the relationship. Au pairs could be treated like adults or children depending on who they ate with and what they ate. The au pairs she employed always ate with the children early in the evening and not with her and her husband later on. The au pairs were expected to eat what the children ate and not the more expensive 'adult' food, as she explains:

Employer 8
They eat your Haagen Das ice cream instead of the crap you got the children which you were expecting them to eat and I tell you it's a huge stickler .. when they would dare eat the smoked salmon it's very tricky. You can't say "how dare you eat the smoked salmon?" But you want to say "How dare you eat the smoked salmon?"

This illustrates well the balancing act that goes on within the au pair/employer relationship as the two try to share a house together. Eating communally can bring au pairs into the family and make them more equal, whilst leaving them to eat alone

or just with the children can exclude them from the family or cast them as children themselves. The types of food they are expected to eat, or welcome to eat, show the same things. Au pairs are not equal members of the family or they are only equal to children.

The negotiation of space is an important aspect of the relationship between employers and domestic workers. Home is a space that has particular connotations of privacy, safety and affection for its inhabitants in society. For women the home is also a site of oppression and the delineation of gender roles. For domestic workers and their employers the home becomes a place of work where control is a product of employment rather than family relationships and work is divided on class rather than gender lines. However, the existing meanings of home are powerful and permeate the experience of the domestic workers. Cleaners are seen as invading the privacy of the home as they transform it into their workplace. Au pairs are buffeted by the work/home contradiction, simultaneously pulled into the family by affection and treatment as a daughter and repulsed from it by restrictive rules and lack of sympathy. The active negotiation of this space can be seen in the use of names and eating practices. These customs allow employers and employees to delineate their positions within the house and within the relationship. Degrees of distance or intimacy between the partners can be signalled and the position of the worker within the house is both established and reflected.

Summary and Conclusions

The relationship between domestic workers and their employers is a delicate one. It is founded on the exchange of work for payment but extends far beyond this. The relationship is composed of two main elements, one the wage element and the other affection, resembling a friendship or familial relationship. Different employers and employees strike different balances between these two elements highlighting either the closeness of their relationships or the distance between them. Both employers and employees consciously strove to keep a balance between distance and intimacy that they were happy with.

The remuneration of domestic workers was not organised as that of workers in the formal sector, but reflected the affective nature of the employment relationship also. Both the pay given and also payments in kind were a product of employers' feelings about their employees. Employers could choose only to pay cleaners they liked for time off and would give some payments in the forms of gifts, reinforcing the differences between the levels of remuneration of different employees. Payments in kind are a means by which the work done by domestic workers is not remunerated

like employment but rewarded as a favour, reinforcing the affective or paternalistic nature of the relationship.

The tasks carried out by paid domestic workers encourage affective relationships between employers and employees, more so than that done in many other sectors of the economy. Paid domestic labour replaces the labour of the employer directly. Work that is normally carried out for household members because of their kin relationship is passed on to the domestic worker. The work done resembles the caring that is given to loved ones. This work is also normally done by women within families, and is seen as the responsibility of female family members. Therefore, paid domestic workers do not only resemble household members when carrying out their work, they replace a particular individual.

Domestic workers are also drawn towards their employers by the site of their work. The domestic worker has close contact with the family in their homes and has knowledge of the details of their lives and possessions. For live-in domestic workers the intimacy is increased by their position as household members and their constant contact with their employers. Paid domestic workers become a part of the household, if not a part of the family. They resemble family members or close friends in their proximity to their employers and their knowledge of the details of the employer's life.

The relationship is a balance of intimacy and distance and distance was produced within the relationship in a number of ways. Most simply employers avoided their employees either by going out when their cleaners came or by separating the space they used in their house from that of live-in domestic workers. Distance was placed between worker and employer by the emphasis on differences between the partners. The similarity between the two that was obvious in the identical responsibilities they had for reproductive labour was countered by a focus on age and ethnic differences between the two. The portrayal of the worker as child, as in the case of au pairs, both legitimated the power of employers and separated the employing family from the domestic worker. The last chapter highlighted the focus that many employers had on the immigrant status of their cleaners. This difference between employer and employed was seen as a significant one and enabled employers to separate themselves from their cleaners.

Employers actively produced the child role for au pairs by imposing house rules on them that were akin to those of teenagers and associating them with the children of the family in terms of eating patterns. The au pairs' age and their new arrival in London facilitated this process. They were dependent on their employers for housing and sustenance and did not have the support networks that develop over time. In this

way the employers' power was legitimated not as the power of an employer but as the power of a parent, a relationship that is much more comfortable in a home.

As the last chapter discussed, the cleaners in the sample were ethnically diverse and ethnicity was important to employers in the selection of a cleaner. Many employers in the sample discussed the differences between themselves and their cleaners in ethnic terms, focusing particularly on the poor language skills of their cleaners. The cleaners are, therefore, portrayed as doing domestic work not because they are poor or working class, but because they are foreign and excluded from other work because of a language deficiency. Employers were able to portray themselves as doing a favour for these women by employing them because they are unable to access the formal labour market. For women employers who employed cleaners of the same age, ethnic differences were particularly important as a means of separating themselves from women that they otherwise resembled.

The relationship between domestic worker and employer is a class relationship and is based on the exchange of labour for payment even though the form the relationship takes often highlights other differences. Domestic workers and employers rarely strive to maximise their own benefits from the exchange, yet it is in the domestic workers' interest to increase their pay for each hour worked while employers need to increase the amount of work done for a given amount of money. This conflict of interest is characteristic of all relationships between worker and employer. However, domestic employers are uncomfortable with having the relationship expressed in class terms and seek other ways to explain why someone else carries out reproductive labour for them. Thus they focus on differences between themselves and their employees other than in income. The intimacy inherent in the type of work being done makes employers unhappy to act like employers and they find other ways to legitimate their authority. With young au pairs this is in a parent role but with cleaners it is more delicate. Similarities in age and gender of cleaners and their employers highlight their equivalency in all but class. Ethnic difference is an easy substitute for class difference in a population such as that of north London. Cleaners can be cast as disadvantaged due to their lack of language skills or immigrant status and not just by their class. Thus the domestic worker and employer negotiate their personal relationship within the structures of society. A relationship that exists because of gender roles and class inequalities is played out in terms of age and ethnic differences.

Chapter 7
Conclusion

The last three chapters have presented the results of this study. They have examined the nature of the paid domestic labour sector in London generally and then looked in detail at the domestic labour market in Hampstead and the relationship between employers and employees in the study area. This chapter reflects on the extent to which the study's aims have been achieved. It begins by summarising the key findings of the research. It then goes on to discuss the implications of these findings and the limitations of the study. The chapter concludes by recommending avenues for future research.

The aim of the study was to investigate how class, gender and ethnicity shape the paid domestic labour sector in London and to examine whether paid domestic employment in London challenges or reinforces these inequalities.

Summary of Findings

In Chapter 2 it was argued that the context of paid domestic labour is a product of both the social relations of reproductive labour and of paid, productive work. The gendered nature of unpaid reproductive labour impacts paid domestic work in a number of ways. First, domestic work is seen to be naturally women's work. Therefore, it is imagined that all women know how to do domestic tasks and this type of labour does not appear to be work when it is carried out by women. Second, within employing households women are responsible for either doing domestic

labour themselves or providing, and managing, someone else to do it. Third, domestic workers have their own burden of reproductive labour that they need to fit paid work around and this will mediate the circumstances in which they enter the paid domestic work force.

The relations of productive labour create class differences, racial inequality and reinforce gender inequalities. For paid domestic workers, like other workers, this means that opportunities will be limited by racist and sexist assumptions. The employment relationship that domestic workers enter into exists within these hierarchies and is produced by them. The intimate nature of the domestic employment relationship means that it is an effective vehicle for the transmission of ideas between employer and domestic worker. The relationship has elements of familiarity and paternalism that are less likely to exist in other employment situations.

Following from this analysis of the context of paid domestic labour, fieldwork showed paid domestic work to be a product of class, gender and ethnic inequalities. The first stage of fieldwork revealed the range and distribution of paid domestic labour in London and interviews with agencies provided information on the pay of domestic workers, their age, nationality and the emphasis that employers put on the personal characteristics of domestic workers. The distribution of demand coincided with established wealthy areas rather than the areas with the highest rates of female labour force participation or the most pre-school children. An increase in the number of women working outside the home was not the only influence on demand for domestic help; the type of jobs advertised could not be explained with reference only to this. The ability of better off people to pay for domestic help cannot be ignored as an influence on the demand for domestic workers.

British domestic employment agencies had not been interviewed in previous studies of the sector and they proved to be important actors and sources of information. Agency interviews revealed the extent to which domestic labour was segregated between jobs. People of different ages, genders and nationalities were steered towards different positions and were seen to be suitable for particular jobs by both employers and agencies. Previous studies of paid domestic labour in Britain had not investigated the segmentation of the sector nor the ghettoisation of particular ethnic groups in particular domestic jobs.

Interviews with employers and employees in Hampstead confirmed that ethnic segregation was important in the paid domestic labour market. The recruitment processes used by employers, and the methods used by domestic workers to find jobs,

reiterated the ghettoisation of particular groups. Not only do agencies direct certain ethnic groups into particular jobs that they believe they are most suitable for, but also informal recruitment techniques reinforce segregation. Employers sought employees of the same nationality as someone who they had employed successfully in the past and domestic workers helped friends and relatives to find domestic jobs.

Assumptions about gender roles also permeated the labour market. Employers assumed that women were all able to do domestic work. Some employers thought that men would be more professional as cleaners but none of the employers interviewed was prepared to take on a man as a live-in au pair. Men's motivations for taking on paid domestic work were seen as being quite different from women's. Whereas women were expected to take on paid domestic labour because of its convenience, men were seen simultaneously to have chosen cleaning as a profession and to be using domestic work as a way to gain access to the employer's house and family.

The paid domestic labour market is also a product of income inequalities. Amongst the sample interviewed the majority of domestic labour employed was not perceived as a necessity by employers. Rather it was providing them with increased leisure time or relieving them of tasks they did not want to do. Many employers had been brought up in households where help was employed and they did not see housework as their job. These employers were able to afford to pay someone else to carry out tasks that they could have done themselves but did not want to. Domestic workers in comparison had taken this work because of the lack of available alternative opportunities. Cleaners particularly had used part-time cleaning to supplement benefits and low pay.

Social inequalities not only shape the paid domestic labour market; they also permeate the relationship between employer and domestic worker. The relationship is rooted in the gender inequalities that exist in society. Women, who are responsible for providing reproductive labour for their families, employ other women to carry out some household tasks. The employment relationship had elements of affectivity but the intimacy produced by this type of work was balanced by social distance.

Employers cast their employees in an inferior role in a variety of ways. Au pairs were denigrated in terms of their age, whereas cleaners' ethnicity was focused on. Live-in au pairs were infantilised by employers' rules and by behaviour such as meal patterns. Au pairs were restricted by their employers in the same way young teenagers would be. Employers expected au pairs to eat with the children rather than adults and to eat children's food. Many employers interviewed emphasised the

ethnic differences between themselves and their cleaner, drawing particular attention to the poor language skills of their cleaner. For female employers who had cleaners of a similar age, ethnic differences were an important means of separating themselves from their cleaners.

The Reproduction of Social Inequalities

The operation of the labour market and the nature of the employer/employee relationship both reinforce existing inequalities and reproduce the ideologies that support them. The nature of the work done and the organisation of the sector reinforce divisions along class, gender and ethnic lines.

Shifting the burden of reproductive work to paid employees outside the household rather than redistributing work between family members reinforces the idea that certain people (women) are responsible for certain work (housework). The close nature of the employment relationship, including as it does elements of affectivity, does not lessen this. The person performing the housework resembles a family member and their labour appears to be a product of affection rather than paid work.

Gender roles are not challenged by the employment of paid domestic labour. Female domestic workers are carrying out tasks that women have been responsible for for generations and that it is assumed they can do. Women are drawn in to paid domestic labour because of their gender. Their role within society, as responsible for reproductive labour, is not challenged nor are assumptions about women's skills or abilities.

The practice of employing particular people because of their ethnicity or nationality appears to be common within the sector. This segregation of the labour market reinforces existing prejudices in two ways. First, people from ethnic minorities have their choice of job restricted. They are directed towards particular positions and not considered for others. People of certain nationalities become concentrated within the domestic workforce, and within a limited range of domestic jobs. There is little career progression within paid domestic work and for many domestic workers movement into other sectors is restricted to institutionalised forms of the same work such as contract cleaning or nursery nursing. For others, such as au pairs, who leave the sector it is language skills that have been gained rather than experience of domestic work that is useful. Second, the process of ethnic segregation in the workplace separates people of different nationalities from each other and this encourages racist prejudice. Few domestic workers meet other people at work, so unlike employees in other jobs, they are not prevented from meeting people of different nationalities by ethnic segregation. However, the segregation of the paid

domestic labour market as a whole and the ghettoisation of people like Filipina or Colombian women in the sector does militate against them going into different forms of paid work where they would work alongside other people and meet people of different nationalities.

Domestic workers are isolated at work, normally working alone, or perhaps alongside their employer or one other employee. The power that other groups of workers have to organise collectively is unavailable to them. Resistance is restricted to individualised acts or informal groups or networks. Added to this, the nature of the employment relationship, its intimacy and similarity to familial relationships, also disempowers domestic workers. An involvement in the life of, and sympathy for, employers can prevent domestic workers standing up for their own interests where these conflict with those of employers.

Paid domestic labour acts to reinforce, rather than challenge existing inequalities. It does not challenge basic assumptions about who is responsible for reproductive work and it does not help women escape from traditional roles. The segregation of the labour market on ethnic lines reinforces existing prejudices and limits the opportunities of people from ethnic minorities that engage in paid domestic labour. Resistance by domestic workers is limited. Their isolation and the intimate nature of their relationship with employers restrict their ability to either challenge racist or sexist assumptions or improve their pay and conditions.

The objectives of the research: to investigate the size and distribution of the sector, the operation of the domestic labour market and the nature of the employer/employee relationship, have been fulfilled. The findings show that class, ethnicity and gender are important influences on the paid domestic labour sector in London, shaping the sector in a number of ways. The interaction of the hierarchies moulds the domestic labour market and the employment relationship; it also produces a sector within which domestic workers have little scope for resistance or ability to challenge existing inequalities.

Implications of the Study

Putting Hampstead in Context

The importance of findings from the Hampstead survey can be gauged only if they are put into the context of the paid domestic labour market in London as a whole. The first stage of research provided background information about the situation in London. It showed that the sector is substantial; it is varied, containing a range of jobs at very different levels of reward. The sector is also segmented along ethnic,

gender and age lines. Hampstead was not chosen as a typical area of London but rather because it was a-typical, displaying the highest rates of demand for paid domestic labour of any London postcode.

The first stage of research gave an indication of the relative importance of different jobs within the paid domestic sector. The majority of posts were childcare related with nannies accounting for half of all advertisements in *The Lady* and nearly a third of positions filled by the agencies interviewed. The existence of a sizeable prestige domestic workforce was also discovered. Four agencies had placed over 300 people as cooks, couples, butlers and housekeepers in the previous year. The Hampstead sample showed a different pattern of full-time domestic employment. Au pairs were the most important full-time domestic workers in the sample and only one nanny was employed. There were no full-time staff employed that did not help with childcare. The employers interviewed did not have arrangements that were typical of those advertising for staff in The Lady. It is possible that the sample included an unrepresentatively large number of people who did not work full-time. Only one of the married women interviewed was engaged in full-time work. Other women in the sample that had children who were at school only worked for a few hours a week or not at all. This would reduce the demand for sole charge nannies and increase it for those that cover child care part-time. This pattern is perhaps a product of the relative wealth of the area. Families did not necessarily need two full-time incomes. The households in the sample did not include prestige domestic staff even though there is evidence of demand for this type of domestic work from the area. It is possible that the methods used to recruit the sample missed these people, because they live on different streets or send their children to different schools. Therefore, the analysis of the domestic labour market and the domestic employment relationship that is presented in Chapters 5 and 6 does not do justice to these two groups.

The extensive survey of full-time domestic posts found that child care was an important aspect of demand for paid domestic labour. The Hampstead survey also found that child care was important,. All employers who had children employed some form of private childcare either at present or when their children were younger. However, only one family that employed childcare did not also employ a cleaner. As cleaners are not recruited in the same way as full-time employees, their numerical importance was not measured in the first stage of research. Findings from Hampstead imply that it is possible that there are as many cleaners employed as there are all other domestic workers together. This would probably be an over-estimate as only better-off employers would pay a cleaner separately whilst employing an au

pair. However, it is still the case that cleaners are numerically important and that thousands of women are engaged in this type of work.

Interviews with agencies during the first stage of research revealed that employers considered nationality and other personal characteristics to be important when recruiting a domestic employee. In-depth interviews in Hampstead confirmed this; employers found an employee's personal characteristics to be more important than any technical skill. The ethnicities of the domestic workers varied slightly between those described by agencies and those employed in Hampstead. Agencies placed Filipinas, Portuguese and Spanish women as housekeepers or cooks; South Africans, New Zealanders, Australians or British Women as Nannies and British men as Butlers or Chauffeurs. The domestic workers in the sample in Hampstead were not all of these nationalities, yet women from different countries were involved in different types of domestic work. This implies that there is not so much a real hierarchy of ability along ethnic lines, with people from different countries being better suited to different jobs. Rather assumptions based on hearsay or limited personal experience were very important in influencing employers' choice of domestic employee.

The sample of domestic workers and employers interviewed in Hampstead was not selected to be representative. It is not possible to generalise the experiences of a small group of people to an entire sector. However, it is possible to compare findings from this group with what is known about the sector in London as a whole to suggest possible areas of similarity and difference.

The Consequences of Informal Employment

Very little attention has been given to paid domestic labour by academics or by government bodies, yet, as this study has found, the sector is large, diverse and includes many people who are marginalised, such as single parents and migrants. This research found that the sector was segmented along lines of race, age and gender and that different groups of workers were ghettoised in particular jobs. Some domestic workers are relatively well-paid, have formal contracts and limited hours of work. Others are poorly paid, have little job security, no holiday pay or sick pay, and work long or unsociable hours. The invisibility of all informal work to government agencies means that people in this sector do not benefit from changes in legislation. The introduction of a minimum wage, restrictions on working hours or other employment law will not benefit domestic workers. In addition to this, the isolation of domestic workers in private households increases their invisibility and restricts their ability to organise collectively. Current trends to reduce benefits, particularly those to single parents, could induce more people to take on informal paid domestic

labour. Yet, increasingly, informal jobs will not serve people's needs. Most importantly, the move towards private pensions will penalise those who are not formally employed. Domestic workers, whilst remaining invisible, will be continually disadvantaged compared to those doing the same tasks in the formal sector. Those domestic workers who are already most marginalised and excluded, single parents, recent migrants, women of colour, will remain invisible. In fact it is their very marginalisation, being benefit dependent or illegally in Britain, that causes domestic workers to seek informal work. While they do this they cannot benefit from any legislation that improves conditions for other workers better off than themselves. It has been demonstrated that paid domestic labour is concentrated in particular areas and therefore these impacts will also be geographically concentrated. Few live-out domestic workers travel long distances to work for a few hours and therefore, domestic workers live either with, or close to, their employers.

Inequalities and Work

The real contribution of this study is in advancing the understanding of how inequalities are actively created within work. It challenges traditional approaches that tend either to examine different forms of oppression, such as sexism or racism, separately; or surrender to a form of relativism that abandons a materialist analysis and with it any argument for social reform (Callinicos 1989). The theoretical basis of this study was a materialist analysis of the origins of three different types of social inequality. It has argued that social inequality of all kinds has its basis in the existence of class society. Different class societies produce different forms of inequality and all people have unique experiences of oppression.

By looking at two groups, engaged in an intimate but antagonistic relationship, this study was able to explore the creation and experience of oppression within individual lives. It has shown how different forms of social inequality are closely related, with each actively creating new forms of the others. For example, age was found to be an important form of social stratification within paid domestic labour. However, differentiation between domestic workers on the basis of their age can not be explored without reference to their gender or their race. In Chapter Two it was argued that a gendered life cycle led to bodies being "socially tattooed" in different ways. It is clear that within paid domestic work the life cycle is not only gendered, but also racialised and classed and each body is "tattooed" with a complex set of social meanings that are mutually constitutive.

This study does not just reveal the details of the lives of some domestic workers and their employers. It gives a glimpse of an active process, the creation and recreation of inequality at work. It shows how important it is to understand the complex, and

dynamic, interaction of a number of hierarchies in constituting individual experiences of work and life in general.

Limitations of the Study

The methods adopted for this study were designed to reveal processes at work in the paid domestic labour sector. They were suitable for uncovering the feelings and experiences of those interviewed. However, these methods did have limitations. First, the extensive survey of demand for paid domestic labour did not reveal the size of the sector, only the relative importance of some jobs. It did not include cleaners, the most numerous domestic employees, and no realistic estimate of their numbers can be made. The invisibility of paid domestic labour as a sector is enhanced by the lack of data about its most basic characteristics. Whilst domestic employment is considered to be a shrinking or marginal sector it can be ignored by groups, such as government or unions, that could be influential in changing the nature of the sector.

Second, domestic employers and employees both constitute hidden populations. There is no information about the population as whole and it is therefore impossible to reflect on how well the sample interviewed represents the total population. This means that important elements of the workings of the paid domestic labour market or the employment relationship may not have been touched on in this study.

Third, paid domestic labour is a sensitive subject. Employing help in the house, or working in a low-status occupation may be subjects that people are unhappy to discuss with a stranger, particularly given the illegal nature of some employment arrangements. Some employers who were interviewed were not prepared to have their employees interviewed too. This reduced the number of pairs of employer and employee that could be interviewed and lowered the total number of employees in the sample. Other employers may not have responded to letters that were sent because they did not want to discuss their domestic arrangements.

Last, qualitative research is heavily dependent on the skills of the researcher to understand, interpret and analyse the meanings of those interviewed. The thoughts and feelings of participants are filtered through the interpretation of the researcher that is itself a product of their particular view of the world. Therefore, the conceptualisation of domestic labour used in this study actively shaped the results produced. It is not possible to analyse qualitative data in an objective manner and findings must be considered in this light.

Recommendations for Further Study

This study has discussed the influence of race, class and gender inequalities on the paid domestic labour sector in one area of London. There is still a vast amount that is not known about the sector. This study has highlighted the importance of establishing the size of the sector as a whole. This would augment findings from other studies as the significance of the sector would be known. A large scale extensive survey of involvement in paid domestic labour would provide valuable information on variations in type of job, rates of pay and ethnic groups employed in different areas. There are also parts of the sector about which little is known. The employment of mothers' helps has not been covered in any depth by studies of Britain. The existence of a sizeable prestige domestic workforce was revealed in the first stage of this study. The working conditions of these domestic employees could be investigated as could the relationships within a multi-staff household. Studies of migrant domestic workers have highlighted the importance of immigration rules in funnelling particular groups into paid domestic labour. It would be worthwhile to examine the role of the Home Office in shaping domestic employment in Britain.

More information could be gathered on the domestic employment relationship. This study was not able to examine how men and women compare as employers or employees. Gender differences between employer and employee have not been examined. Likewise, household structure has not been investigated as an in-put to the domestic employment relationship. Employing households with different patterns of employment and responsibility for housework could be compared. Weberian notions of class, or access to material wealth, could be used to see if the relationship is influenced by these. There was some evidence in this study that employers who had grown up with help had a different attitude to their employees and this could be further investigated. Employment in a very wealthy area could be compared with a less-well-to-do suburb to see if the employment relationship has a geography that could be discovered in this way.

Domestic employment is a sector about which very little is known. Information on the sector, its size, the characteristics of those involved, conditions of employment and relationships between people would all be useful in making the sector visible. This information could be used to target employees or inform employers. Paid domestic workers have been shown to be marginalised by race and gender prejudice; their marginalisation will persist as long as they are invisible.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Categories of domestic worker found in survey of *The Lady*

Au pair

Au pair plus

Carer

Carer/Housekeeper

Companion/Carer

Couple

Domestic Helper

Housekeeper

Housekeeper/cook

Housekeeper/Nanny

Nanny/Mother's Help

Mother's Help/housekeeper

Nanny

Nanny/Mother's Help

Nanny/Teacher

Other (included Housekeeper/Caretaker, ladies Maid, House Maid, Companion/Cook, houseperson/Valet, Au pair/Houseminder, Housemanager, Housekeeping Assistant, Cleaner/Housekeeper, Housekeeper/Driver, Nanny/Au pair, Companion, Chauffeur, Teacher, Nanny/Carer, Handyperson/Driver, Nurse, Assistant and Childcarer/Housekeeper.)

Appendix 2

Dean of School
P V O'Connor
BSc MSc DipEd

Coventry University
Priory Street Coventry CV1 5FB
Telephone 01203 631313
Fax 01203 838793

School of Natural and Environmental Sciences
Direct Line 01203
Direct Fax 01203

Division of Geography
Chair: Dr David Clark
Direct Line: 01203 838444
Divisional Fax: 01203 838447

Our reference
RC77/sb

Your reference

Date
6 October 1995

Dear Parent/Guardian,

I am an ex-Hampstead student now conducting research for a PhD in geography. I am looking into the employment of domestic help in London and NW6/NW3 is one of my study areas.

I am anxious to meet anyone living in these postcodes who employs help at home, such as a cleaner, au pair, mother's help etc. and who is willing to be interviewed on the subject. I would anticipate this taking about an hour and would, of course, be confidential.

If you can help please fill in the slip below and return it to me care of Mrs Young. If you can't help but have a friend or relative who could, please pass this on to them. If you would like to talk to me about the project please do not hesitate, my numbers are 01203-838414 (work) and 01203-711359 (home).

Thank you very much for your time.

Yours sincerely,

Rosie Cox

.....

I am willing to be contacted regarding domestic employment in London.

Name ..... Address .....

.....

Phone: Day ..... Evening .....

Please return to Rosie Cox, c/o Mrs Young, Hampstead School.

Dean of School
P V O'Connor
BSc MSc DipEd

Dr David Clark
Head of Geography
Tel: 01203 838444
Fax: 01203 838447

Coventry University
Priory Street Coventry CV1 5FB
Telephone 01203 631313
Fax 01203 838793

School of Natural and Environmental Sciences
Direct Line 01203 838414
Direct Fax 01203 838447

Our reference

Your reference
RC113.MMW/96

Date

25 June 1996

John Hamilton
Quintin Kingston School
Marlborough Hill
London
NW8

Dear Mr Hamilton

I am a PhD student from Coventry University and I am researching paid domestic work in London. I am anxious to contact people who employ help in their home and who are prepared to be interviewed on the subject. My main method for identifying such people is to enlist the help of a variety of schools and to ask them to circulate a letter to the parents of all Year 8 pupils. The letter asks any parent who is willing to help to return a tear off slip so no-one is pressured into participating if they don't want to. It would be very helpful if your school could help me in this by sending a letter home with your Year 8. I have already completed this once with the help of Hampstead School and Mrs Moira Young, their head of Year 8, is happy to discuss the process if you have any queries.

I realise that schools are very busy and appreciate that this an imposition but I would be grateful if you could help. I will telephone you early next week to discuss the matter further. If you know you will not be able to help please let me know as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely

Rosie Cox

Dean of School
P V O'Connor
BSc MSc DipEd

Dr David Clark
Head of Geography
Tel: 01203 838444
Fax: 01203 838447

Coventry University
Priory Street Coventry CV1 5FB
Telephone 0 203 631313
Fax 01203 838793

School of Natural and Environmental Sciences
Direct Line 01203
Direct Fax 0 203

Our reference

RC114 MMW/96
Your reference

Date

25 June 1996

I am a PhD student at Coventry University studying paid domestic work in London. I am anxious to contact anyone who employs help in their house and is prepared to be interviewed on the subject. The interview would take approximately 45 minutes and would be strictly confidential.

If you would like to discuss this with me please phone me on (01203) 838414 (work) or (01203) 711359 (home) or alternatively you can contact my PhD supervisor, Dr Angela Browne on (01203) 838444.

Yours

Rosie Cox

.....

If you can help please fill in this slip and return it in the SAE provided.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

_____

Telephone (day)_____ (evening)_____

Dean of School
P V O'Connor
BSc MSc DipEd

Coventry University
Priory Street Coventry CV1 5FB
Telephone 01203 631313
Fax 01203 838793

School of Natural and Environmental Sciences
Direct Line 01203
Direct Fax 01203

Our reference

Your reference

Date

Tel. 01203 838444
Fax 01203 838447

August 4, 1998

Dear Madam/Sir,

I am a Ph.D. student at Coventry University studying domestic work in London. As part of my research I am interviewing people in the NW3 area who employ help in the house, for example a cleaner, au pair or mother's help. I am interested in arranging informal interviews with people to talk to them about why they employ help and how they arrange it.

If you are interested in participating please fill in the slip below and return it in the prepaid envelope. I will contact you to explain more about the project and arrange a convenient interview time.

Yours faithfully,

Rosie Cox

Name _____

Address

_____

_____

Telephone (day) _____ (evening) _____

Appendix 3

Agency Survey

Agency Name
Address

Date of Interview
Informant

How many people are placed by the agency in a year?

Temporary jobs

Permanent jobs

Live-in

Live-out

What jobs are they doing?

Position	Number

Whereabouts are they placed?

How long do they tend to stay in each position?

Are any of them students?

How much are they typically paid?

Position	Pay

Who are they?

Position	Age	Nationality

Do you place many British people?

Why do you think people of these nationalities do these jobs?

What are employers looking for in a domestic employee?

What do they most often specify?

What are employees looking for in a position?

What do they complain about?

Interviews

Employers

1. History of present employment arrangement
2. History of all domestic employment
3. Age, job, number of kids, their ages.
4. What tasks does your employee do?
5. What are her employment arrangements, hours, holidays, pension, pay, perks?
6. Why do you employ someone?
7. What do you call each other?
8. What happens if she wants to bring friends home? Boyfriends/girlfriends?

Interviews

Employees

1. History of present job
2. Work history.
3. Where from, age, children, married?
4. What tasks do you do in a day/week?
5. What hours, weeks do you work?
6. What are you paid, pension etc?
7. What do you call each other?
8. How do you feel about the work?
9. Are there any problems with living in?

Appendix 4

Age of Domestic Workers: Agency Survey Results

Job	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Mode
Butler										
H/K										
Nanny										
A/P										
Cook										
Chauf.										
Cple										
Mat nurse										

Appendix 5

NUD.IST Coding Tree Used

(1) /basedata
(1 1) /basedata/employers
(1 1 1) /basedata/employers/ethnicity
(1 1 2) /basedata/employers/gender
(1 1 3) /basedata/employers/work
(1 1 4) /basedata/employers/employ who
(1 1 5) /basedata/employers/history
(1 2) /basedata/employees
(1 2 1) /basedata/employees/ethnicity
(1 2 2) /basedata/employees/job done
(1 2 3) /basedata/employees/history

(2) /labour market
(2 1) /labour market/empers
(2 1 1) /labour market/empers/wanting help
(2 1 1 1) /labour market/empers/wanting help/perfect
(2 1 2) /labour market/empers/looking for help
(2 1 3) /labour market/empers/hiring
(2 1 4) /labour market/empers/sacking
(2 2) /labour market/empees
(2 2 1) /labour market/empees/deciding
(2 2 2) /labour market/empees/looking
(2 2 2 1) /labour market/empees/looking/perfect
(2 2 3) /labour market/empees/hiring
(2 2 4) /labour market/empees/leaving

(3) /relationship
(3 1) /relationship/control
(3 2) /relationship/what done
(3 3) /relationship/monitoring
(3 4) /relationship/problems
(3 5) /relationship/resistance
(3 5 1) /relationship/resistance/practical
(3 5 2) /relationship/resistance/psycological
(3 6) /relationship/othering
(3 6 1) /relationship/othering/race
(3 6 2) /relationship/othering/class
(3 6 3) /relationship/othering/gender
(3 7) /relationship/pay
(3 8) /relationship/space
(3 9) /relationship/ feelings

Appendix 6

Examples of Classified Advertisements from *The Lady* Magazine

AMERSHAM. LIVE IN NANNY for girls aged 2 and 5 months. – Professional parents. Driver, non smoker and references essential. Start early August. – Tel. 01494 721229.

HOUSEKEEPER, Bucks/Oxfordshire borders, required to live in for busy business man. All general household duties expected. – If you are a non smoker, driver and have a flexible attitude, please apply to: Tel. 01844 237093.

PINNER, N LONDON. – Live in nanny/housekeeper required from August, for sole charge of girl 5 and boy 3. Maturity and experience essential. Driver and non smoker. – Tel. 0181-428 9377 (evenings).

AU PAIR/HOUSEMINDER, Barnes, required by busy father, boy (13) and black Labrador. Must be reliable, caring, helpful non smoker. Start July 16, minimum one year. References essential. – Tel. 0181-876 5114 after 7pm.

FULL TIME, LIVE IN NANNY, Battersea, for 3 children, 4, 1½ and 6 weeks. Non smoker, experience, qualified. – Tel. 0171-585 1123.

STOCKWELL, SW8 – Daily nanny, 2 boys aged 3.6. Driver, non smoker essential. 8.30-6.30. Monday-Friday. – Tel. 0171-622 9067/0171-287 2194.

EAST DULWICH, SOUTH EAST 22. – Nanny for sole charge of 3 month baby, start September. Non smoker. – Tel. 01689 841668 days or 0181-299 1791 evenings/weekends.

PART TIME MOTHER'S HELP required July-September, for boy 6½. Non smoker, driver, references. – Tel. 01753 403448.

NANNY, LONDON N2 – Sole or shared care of of 6 month old girl. Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday 8am-6pm. Non smoker, experience and references essential. Start date 17 July 95 – Tel. 0181-883 1467.

NNEB, NW LONDON. – Driver, non smoker for sole charge 3 year old girl, baby due September. Own room, bath, car. Suit student couple – Tel. 0181-201 3279.

COUPLE REQUIRED. – Experienced gardener/caretaker and part time housekeeper for Sussex village and 1 star garden. Knowledge of horses an advantage. Own transport necessary. Flat and detached accommodation available. – Apply to: Tel. 01444 454000 (home).

LIVE IN, MATURE cook/housekeeper, companion to elderly lady. Ground floor flat. Two bedrooms. – Tel. 0161-980 3681.

AU PAIR, SW LONDON. – 14/8/95, minimum 6 months. Own room, bathroom, TV. Girl 8, full time school. Mother professional. Current recommends after 3rd years. – Tel. 0181-672 2467, 13.00 hours.

AFTERNOON NANNY/FRIEND needed for 3 weeks from 3.7.95. 3 children (10, 5, 3). Non smoker. Earls Court area. – Tel. 0171-373 4251.

AU PAIR/MOTHER'S HELP, for friendly Oxfordshire family. Lovely home. – Tel. 01734 845285

NANNY, LEAMINGTON SPA, for children 4 and 2 years. – Enthusiastic, non smoker, driver, live out. Flexible hours, 4 day week. – Tel. 01926 886100.

EAST HORSLEY. – Part time nanny, 2-3 days weekly, for girl (7) and boy (3). Hours 7am-6pm. Own car necessary. Start August/September – Tel. 01483 282064.

NANNY/MOTHER'S HELP REQUIRED Worcestershire area. – Two children 1½ and 3, twins due end July. Must be confident, cheerful, enthusiastic and intelligent. A non smoker, competent driver, swimmer. Own flat/car provided. – Write enclosing CV to: Box 9430

DISABLED MALE, confined to wheelchair, needs help with balance. – Self propelled hoist used. Own bedroom, bathroom suite, for helper. Breakfast provided. London, Holland Park area. – Please write full details, experience etc: Box 9431

LIVE IN COUPLE. – Housekeeper/cook, gardener/handy person, some chauffeuring, for elderly lady. Pleasant, easily run house, ½ acre garden. 25 miles North West of London. Self contained flat. Non smokers. Box 9439

ENTHUSIASTIC, SELF MOTIVATED, single handed gardener required for beautiful, established garden in Oxfordshire. Attractive cottage and car/van by for spouse to work in house if required. Box 9447

LONDON, SW3 – Professional parents seek daily, live out nanny and 2 living, reasonable and flexible to care for two sweet children, ages 2½ and 5 months. Must be non smoking with excellent English. References and previous experience with babies essential. – Apply in writing, including CV and copy references to: Box 9440

SINGLE (35-50), housekeeper/cum-gardener required at farmhouse in West Sussex hamlet. Applicant must have full licence and be non smoker with steady disposition. 15-20 hours per week in house to include a little cooking, running security etc. Also some garden work. Others employed. Good cottage with garden. Only those with motive to apply. – Apply in writing with full references. Box 9444

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE. – Experienced and warm housekeeper/cook to manage beautiful country house. Two pupils, adults, no children. Must love animals and generally be non smoker. Basic essential. Driver/valet an advantage. Box 9445

FREE ACCOMMODATION USE, K&B private house, mayfair, main to kindly person in return some help/companionship to elderly ex nurse. Box 9477

MATERNITY NURSE, 4 weeks. – Twins. Bournemouth. Elderly primigravidas, apprehensive doctors. Expected 2nd August. Relaxed, humourous. – CV, references: Box 9470

BERKSHIRE WIDOW seeks companion, pensioner preferred. Pleasant room, TV. Minimal duties. Box 9469

NANNY/HOUSEKEEPER required by leading interior designer near Sloane Square. Duties include shopping and preparing simple suppers, running around, helping in office as needed. Looking after 13 year old daughter on exeat weekends and school holidays. Must drive and live in. Daily maid employed. Would suit young person attending part time course in London. Needed immediately. – Send full details to: Box 9467

Appendix 7

HOME OFFICE GUIDANCE ON AU PAIRS FROM 1 OCTOBER 1994

The Rules laid down by the Home Secretary as to the practice to be followed in the administration of the Immigration Act 1971 for regulating entry into and the stay of persons in the United Kingdom is the statement laid before Parliament on 23 May 1994 (HC 395).

For the purpose of the rules an "au pair" placement is an arrangement whereby a young person:

(a) comes to the United Kingdom for the purpose of learning the English language; and

(b) lives for a time as a member of an English speaking family with appropriate opportunities for study; and

(c) helps in the home for a maximum of 5 hours per day in return for a reasonable allowance (normally up to £35 per week) and with two free days per week.

To qualify as an "au pair" a person must be :

(i) seeking entry for the purpose of taking up an arranged placement: and

(ii) aged between 17-27 inclusive or was so aged when first given leave to enter in this capacity; and

(iii) unmarried; and

(iv) without dependents; and

(v) a national of one of the following countries: Andorra, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, The Faeroes, Greenland, Hungary, Liechtenstein, Macedonia, Malta, Monaco, San Marino, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Switzerland or Turkey.

A person seeking entry as an "au pair" will need to show evidence that a suitable placement has been arranged and will need to satisfy the immigration officer at the port of entry of his/her intention to leave the United Kingdom within 2 years. A person who has entered the United Kingdom in some other capacity (e.g. visitor) will not be allowed to remain as an "au pair". Nor will an "au pair" be permitted to remain beyond 2 years from the date on which he/she was first admitted in this capacity.

A person admitted as an "au pair" is permitted to change host families provided the new arrangement continues to meet the requirements set out above. Agencies involved in arranging placements and the host families themselves will wish to ensure that any "au pair" who is currently in the United Kingdom can produce a passport to show that he/she has been given leave to enter (or remain) in the United Kingdom on condition that he/she does not enter employment paid or unpaid other than as an "au pair" or has no restrictions whatsoever on taking employment.

EC NATIONALS AND EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AREA

Nationals of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Irish Republic, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain and Sweden are free to take employment in the United Kingdom including taking up "au pair" placements if they wish.

Home Office
Immigration and Nationality Department
Lunar House
40 Wellesley Road
Croydon
CR9 2BY
081 686 0688

May 1994